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Selections.

THE TEST OATH.

[The following is copied from the New York *Evening Post*. Editorially the *Post* says in a long article:]

WE could add the evidence of loyal Southern men, in letters to ourselves, to that which the Committee adduce, to show that there are plenty of consistent Union men in all the States, ready to hold Federal offices, and capable to fulfil their duties. We reprint here, as an instance, part of a letter from a loyal Texan, a gentleman who suffered ten months in a rebel prison because he was faithful to the Union, who lost his property, and was driven from the State when he was released. He writes:

"It is said the test oath should be repealed, because competent loyal persons cannot be found to fill the offices. The statement is false. There are plenty of loyal men and capable men, and if there were not they can be imported. But there are plenty. If loyal men are wanted to go to Congress, or fill any other office in this State, they can be had in sufficient numbers. * * * * * * *

"And I hope Congress will declare and put the whole matter beyond a doubt, that no one shall be allowed to hold any office under the United States who cannot take the oath. That is the only way of making treason known as a crime. These people don't realize that they did wrong, and there is but one way of impressing it upon them. They are asking for office, and have received the assessorships of internal revenue, to the exclusion of loyal and highly capable Union men. They say there are not loyal men enough to fill the offices. But that is all stuff and nonsense. If the government wants loyal men in the South it can have them."

THE OATH OF OFFICE.

SINGULAR REVELATIONS OF THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE.

IT is known that the Secretary of the Treasury and Postmaster-General have several times applied to Congress to repeal or modify the oath prescribed by Congress to be taken by Federal officeholders. The matter was referred in the House of Representatives to the Committee on the Judiciary, who have made their report, by the hands of Mr. Wilson, of Iowa. In this report, after showing that the present oath is in consonance with the sentiments and the acts and demands of President Johnson, the committee go on to declare it a grave offence that the Secretary of the Treasury and other public officers have deliberately disobeyed an act of Congress.

"But the test oath was established by law, and no officer had any more right to dispense with it than he had to dispense with any other law. The Constitution says the President 'shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed,' and neither he nor any other officer of the government has the right to dispense with any law. All officers should know that the dispensing power does not exist in this government, and that its exercise is dangerous and will not be tolerated.

"It is the duty of public officers to obey and execute the laws. No obligation is plainer than this, and none should be more rigidly observed. The legislative department of the government is entrusted with the law-making power, and when the power is once exercised all officers must yield obedience to it. If the act of July 2, 1862, stood in the way of a proper execution of other laws to the extent indicated by the Secretary of the Treasury, the duty of the President was very plain. It was not to dispense with the law, but to assemble Congress and ask for a removal of the obstacle. Had this been done in the Spring of 1865 the complications now existing in the affairs of the nation would, in all probability, have been avoided, for with the views then entertained by the President relative to the power of Congress over the subject of reconstruction, the legislative and executive departments could have worked together with little or no friction.

"Instead of calling Congress together, the executive department of the government elected to dispense with the law of July 2, 1862, and the Secretary of the Treasury presents the House with the following exhibit of officers appointed under this dispensation."

Here follows a list of officers who have not taken the regular and prescribed oath of office. The report continues:

A SOUTH CAROLINA TAX COLLECTOR.

"It is not a matter of surprise that Montgomery Moses, who is reported in the foregoing list as 'collector first district, South Carolina,' cannot subscribe to the oath of office, for the committee is informed that he was a Confederate tax collector. The following letter relative to the case of Mr. Moses, was recently received at the Treasury Department, and is not regarded by the committee as disclosing a state of facts calling for a modification of the oath of office. The letter is in these words:

"'SUMTER, S. C., April 10, 1866.

"'DEAR SIR: For four years of the war Montgomery Moses was collector of war tax for Jeff. Davis, grinding the people here, and now is assessor (collector) of United States internal revenue; and all his sons were rebels, and are now sucking government pap in revenue. Is this right? Plenty Union men here idle. Your servant,

"'PETER HAYNES, Freedman.'

"This letter, though brief and written by an humble man, contains much on which those who advise a modification of the oath of office may seriously, and perhaps profitably, reflect. Each one of the officers embraced in the foregoing list is acting in violation of law. Their commissions represent fifty four transgressions of a national statute. Each act of appointment was an assumption of a grave responsibility. Why were these things done? An answer to this question will present some interesting facts.

MEN IN THE REBEL ARMIES.

"In a communication sent to the Senate, in response to a resolution of that body, the Secretary of the Treasury said:

"'In most of the Southern States nearly every man of the character and intelligence necessary to qualify him for a position as a revenue officer, some time during the progress of the war, either engaged in hostilities against the government of the United States, or held (willingly or unwillingly) office under rebel authority. Hence it has been necessary, as before stated, to employ in a few important but not very remunerative positions, in most of the subordinate ones, men of this class, especially as the salary and emoluments of the offices were generally too small to induce Northern men to accept them.'

"These considerations, coupled with the necessity of a speedy execution of the revenue laws in the rebel States, are presented in extenuation of the course pursued relative to the appointments in those States. But the Committee is inclined to believe that the Secretary misjudged the facts in the case, and thus magnified the difficulties which beset him; and is of opinion that loyal men who could qualify under the provisions of the act of July 2, 1862, might have been found in numbers more than sufficient to fill all the offices in the rebel States if proper exertions had been made to that end. It must be remembered that the rebel States furnished many thousands of white troops to the Union army. The following table exhibits the number of white troops supplied to the Federal army by the people of the States not represented in Congress;

Virginia	85
North Carolina	3,675
Georgia	142
Alabama	2,471
Florida	1,286
Mississippi	681
Louisiana	5,357
Texas	2,444
Arkansas	8,627
Tennessee	17,637
Total	42,605

"In addition to this number about ten thousand white troops from those States were enlisted in organizations not embraced in the foregoing table, making a total of fifty-two thousand six hundred and five white loyalists who stood by the government. And even this statement does not include several thousands whose actual presence swelled the ranks of the army of the republic, and whose real number cannot be known without a labored investigation of the records of the War Department, as the Committee was informed by the officer in charge of those records.

THE SOUTHERN LOYALISTS.

"It seems to the Committee that an effort to carry out the congressional policy of employing by preference discharged soldiers, would have discovered among the many thousands of men in the Southern States who enlisted in the army to maintain the authority of the government a number sufficient to fill the Federal offices in those States. The President has recently called the attention of the heads of the several departments to the propriety of carrying out this congressional policy, and the Committee believe that an earnest effort to do so will reward many of the soldiers of the republic in the Southern States with official positions under the government in whose cause they fought. The men are there, and are willing to accept the office, without a modification of the oath prescribed by law.

"On this point the following statement, furnished to a leading paper of this city by a number of loyal Alabamians since the reference of the President's special message to the Committee, is full of suggestive interest:

"'Over three thousand men enlisted in the Union army from the mountain counties in north Alabama. They fought bravely during the war, and were part of Gen. Sherman's escort on his march from the mountains to the sea. In South Alabama, near the Florida line, two regiments were also made up for the national army, viz.: the First and Second Florida Cavalry. These men, who came into the Federal lines at the risk of their lives, had fathers, brothers and relatives as strong Unionists as themselves. Gen. G. E. Spencer, who commanded a part of these troops, and the Union men from Alabama now in this city, will be happy to furnish to the Treasury and Post-office Department the names of hundreds of respectable, reliable and intelligent Unionists in that State who are able to take the test oath of office without mutilation or mental reservation.'

"Thousands of others were loyal who did not enter the Union Army. A friend of this class has also made his appeal in the public press since this subject was referred to the Committee. He says:

"'I have the honor to state, in the name of the loyal men of Virginia, many of whom have suffered imprisonment, exile and impoverishment in consequence of their loyalty to the government of the United States, that there were a sufficient number of competent and loyal men incarcerated in Richmond and Salisbury, North Carolina (for no cause but that of devotion to the United States government), to fill all Federal appointments, that can take the present test oath without modification. So much for Virginia; and there is no question that in every Southern State there are enough true and loyal men capable to fill the offices, if they had the least encouragement to apply for them.

"'If the test oath is modified the loyal element in the South will be forever destroyed. In behalf of justice, right, mercy, and the loyalists of the South, I humbly pray the Congress of the United States government not to modify the oath.'

A CASE IN POINT.

"Some of these persons are applicants for the very offices filled by men who cannot qualify as required by law. Mr. J. J. Giers, a citizen of Alabama, applied for an appointment as commissioner for the collection of direct taxes for that State. His application was supported by the following testimonials:

"'HON. SECRETARY OF WAR: Please see Mr. J. J. Giers on the propriety of furnishing small arms ammunition to the loyal people of northern Alabama. A. LINCOLN.

"'November 13, 1863.'

"'NASHVILLE, Tenn., Sept. 30, 1864.

"'Mr. Giers is a gentleman of integrity and respectability; he is one of the few in that country who stood firm to the Union. Any kindness you may show him will confer a personal favor upon me. ANDREW JOHNSON.

"'TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.'

"'Mr. Giers is a loyal citizen of Alabama, and has done many acts to prove his position.

"'G. H. THOMAS, Major-General.

"'May 14, 1865.'

"'I know Mr. Giers well, and have always found him ready to aid the government in every way possible. He is competent and reliable.

"'U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant-General.

"'February 18, 1866.'

"*Mr. Giers's friends were not successful in their efforts to secure for him the position he desired, but one F. W. Sykes, who was a member of the rebel Legislature of Alabama, was nominated to the office.* Other cases might be given, but it is deemed unnecessary. Applications are still pending for the appointment of some of the loyal men of the South to official positions in those States.

"On this point the Secretary of the Treasury remarks as follows:

"'It is true that there are still some applicants for office in the Southern States, who present what they call a "clean record for loyalty;" but, with rare exceptions, they are persons who would have been able to present an equally fair record for place under the Confederate government if the rebellion had been a success, or persons lacking the qualifications which are needed in revenue positions.'

"The persons here referred to are, doubtless, those who refused to aid the rebellion, and could not aid the government of the United States during the war, because of the merciless rebel despotism which restrained them; and all the credit which they receive for their faithfulness to the republic is what seems not unlike a sneer on the part of the Secretary at 'their clean record for loyalty.' 'A clean record for loyalty' deserves a higher reward than this, and those who can present it are entitled to quite as much consideration at the hands of the government as those men of 'character and intelligence' who are holding offices in violation of law. Numbers of the latter class were not unkindly received, but, on the contrary, were treated with great kindness and forbearance. When they could not take the oath of office, it was 'varied by more or less being stricken out or omitted, according to the feelings or circumstances of the appointee.' That loyal men have not been appointed to office in the rebel States does not arise from the fact that no such men are there, but from other and very different causes. One of these causes is presented in the communication of the Postmaster-General accompanying the message referred to the Committee.

THE OATH.

"In speaking of the difficulty he has experienced in securing the services of persons who can take the test oath to act as postmasters, he says;

"'This, as I am inclined to believe, has not been owing exclusively to there not being loyal persons who could take the oath; but to the limited compensation in most of the offices, offering insufficient inducements to persons to act as postmasters, and also to the unwillingness of many who might otherwise act, to do so in consequence of the compromise of their social position, which they fear would result from taking the oath, where the great majority of their neighbors consist of those who had in some form aided the rebellion.'

"The difficulty arising from the limited compensation in most of the post offices of the rebel States would have no application in regard to revenue officers, for they command pecuniary inducements sufficient to cause men to seek after them. And it may well be said in answer to the suggestion of the Postmaster-General, that ex-rebels cannot afford to discharge the duties of an office at a less rate of compensation than loyal men can. Hence, a modification of the test oath would not lift the Postmaster-General out of this difficulty. The real trouble lies in the second reason assigned by the Postmaster-General, which is, 'the unwillingness of many who might otherwise act to do so, in consequence of the compromise of their social position, which they fear would result from taking the oath, where the great majority of their neighbors consist of those who have in some form aided the rebellion.'

"Instead of this being an argument in favor of a modification of the test oath, its force appears to the Committee to lie in the opposite direction. A modification based on such a consideration would operate as a premium for disloyalty. *It would add to the social power of the disloyal*, and this result would stand in opposition to the policy of the President as announced by him in April, 1865, when he said of the rebels, 'their social power must be destroyed.'

"If the test oath should be so far modified as to enable an ex-rebel to take it, the social influence which now overawes loyal men would still push them out of the way, and force the government to bestow its offices on the disloyal. This would not make 'treason odious,' nor would it 'punish traitors.'

"On the contrary, it would increase the odium which now attaches to loyalty in the Southern States, and punish men because of their faithfulness to the government.

"There are thousands of loyal men in the Southern States who can take the test oath, and to such should the offices in those States be given. Let the government recognise their claims in this regard, and loyalty and respect for the laws of the United States will soon be strong enough to overcome the social power which now frowns upon every Union man who stood by the flag of the republic throughout the whole course of the war.

"*The Committee therefore ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject.*"

COLORED SUFFRAGE IN WISCONSIN.

[The item below is of interest as affecting perhaps other States than Wisconsin where colored suffrage is yet withheld. It comes in a letter to the Boston *Congregationalist.*]

IN a recent letter I mentioned that the Wisconsin Legislature intended to submit again the question of negro suffrage to the popular vote. Singularly enough, that has been made needless by a decision of the Supreme Court, and the Gordian knot at once cut. How, your readers may be interested to learn. A section of the Constitution in the article on suffrage provides that "the Legislature may at any time extend by law the right of suffrage to persons not herein enumerated, but no such law shall be in force till the same shall have been submitted to a vote of the people at a general election, and approved by a majority of all the votes cast at such election." In 1849 the question of negro suffrage was submitted to the people with the following result: Whole number of votes cast, 31,759. For equal suffrage to colored persons, 5,265, against 4,075. It was at that time assumed that the law failed because it did not receive a majority of *all the votes cast at the election*, although it had a majority of all cast *on that question*. That interpretation was acquiesced in till some colored men offered their votes in one of the wards at Milwaukee, and when they were rejected brought suit against the inspectors of election for the rejection. The Circuit Court decided against the plaintiffs. They appealed to the Supreme Court and it has interpreted that clause of the Constitution to mean a majority of all the votes cast *on that question.* And so the good people of Wisconsin find that seventeen years ago they conferred the right of suffrage on the colored man, only they did not know it. Twice since they have tried in vain to do what it seems had been already done. Immediately on the rendering of this decision, Gov. Fairchild issued his proclamation of the law, and the negroes have been voting at the Spring elections. The State has survived! Negro stock has risen in the market Even the Democrats have shown their willingness to receive the votes of negroes.

SOUTHERN METHODISM.

[The Methodist General Conference, South, has closed its long session in New Orleans. The following are extracts from the Address of the Bishops. The Northern Conference has been waiving the olive branch, ever since the fall of Richmond, as though no separation of Methodist church, no secession of States, no rebellion, no war had ever happened. But this address tells to what purpose. It will be observed that the *devout* dialect is observed, as well South as North. "*Pious cant*" profane persons call it, but that is not our style. Let it be observed, however; for religious *rebels* at the South abound in it now, as always in years past:]

IN this connection, it is with pleasure that we refer to the fact that many *Christians in the North, and especially in the Northwest, sincerely sympathize with us;* and this sympathy, we have reason to believe, is daily assuming a more tangible and impressive form. That there have, at the same time, been some defections in the Church, we care not to disguise. A very few of the whites have gone from us. This was, perhaps, to have been expected. Our regret is rather for them than for ourselves. But while we speak of small defections, we may refer also to most gratifying accessions. The Baltimore Annual Conference is now represented by a delegation in this body. In February last Bishop Early formally received into our ecclesiastical connection this Conference, consisting of one hundred and four ministers, and a membership of twelve thousand.

It is a grateful duty *to welcome these brethren among us and to commend them to the confidence and affection of our people.* This is a large accession to our members and territory. It is also a testimony in our favor that is nobly borne by men whose former position and long deliberation upon the subject, as well as their known intelligence, will entitle it to special respect. In our hearts we welcome them, and cordially extend to them the right hand of fellowship.

As a fact of interest to us and of promise to our future influence, we may state that in the city of Baltimore there have been organized several flourishing churches upon an independent basis, composed of Methodists whose warm sympathies are with us, and whose liberal kindness has already contributed largely to aid us in our time of need, laying us under obligations by their love and good works.

Our educational interests have been greatly damaged by the war, and nearly all our male institutions have been closed. Providentially many of our female institutions have been kept in operation, and are still dispensing the blessings of sanctified education to the daughters of our land. Every thing in our power should be done to revive, as speedily as possible, the male institutions under the patronage of our Church,

In this connection we specially bring to your attention the importance of an institute for the proper training of young preachers. That we should make some proper arrangements for the more thorough training of our young men before they are received into the Conferences and sent forth to minister in the Church of Christ, appears to us to be so obvious as to need no argument to prove it. It behooves us to take this matter into serious and immediate consideration, and secure to the Church the invaluable advantages the provision we suggest can only supply.

The instruction of the children under our care and the interests of our Sabbath-school system can not be too highly appreciated by you. Your body will, we hope, show your love for these little ones of Christ and lambs of his flock by the practical value of your action in their behalf. We think it unnecessary to enlarge on a point of such obvious and vital concern to the church. Let us remember that it is only by taking care of the children that we can take care of the future prosperity of the Church.

If we are to judge from the tone of the religious press and the action of many of our conferences, great concern is felt in respect to certain changes in our economy. It is obviously unbecoming in us as bishops to occupy any other than an impartial relation to those matters. But we take this occasion to urge upon you the importance of giving these subjects your sober and prayerful consideration, From our extensive observation of the state and wants of the Church, we hesitate not to say that some improvement of our economy may be wisely undertaken at this time. Well for us if we can happily avoid extremes and do neither too little nor too much. Let us remember that while innovations are not necessarily improvements, wisdom may demand in the department of ecclesiastical expediency new applications and developments of fundamental principles. The efficiency of Methodism finds its first condition in the prevalence of deep spiritual life; and alterations in our economy are valuable as they coincide with this condition, calamitous when they ignore it. On only one of the points suggested do we regard it becoming in our position to speak directly, and that is in respect to the increase of the number of the bishops, For such an increase as will give the Church a more efficient episcopacy, we think there is an urgent necessity. The infirmities of age press heavily upon some of us, and diminish our ability to answer to the demands of the work for general episcopal visitation. The great and increasing extent of our territory should be considered. We should by all means have a bishop, for obvious reasons, residing on the Pacific coast. And while we do not recommend a bishop for every State or Conference, we are fully persuaded that the number of bishops should be so increased as to enable them to be pastors of the people as well as chairmen of conferences and pastors of the preachers. If we would carry out the invaluable plan of our itinerant general superintendency, we must have an addition of a number of vigorous, active, and pious men to your present college of bishops.

And now, dear brethren, in conclusion, allow us affectionately to remind you of the solemn responsibility that rests upon you as delegates representing the affairs of our beloved Zion. We have only suggested in outline some of the work before you. It is your province to go fully and thoroughly into the particular consideration of the subjects within your jurisdiction, avoiding all partisan feeling, discharging from our minds all prejudices that would cloud our judgments, rising above all private and selfish impulses, humbly invoking that wisdom that is from above, which is pure and peaceable and gentle; in honor preferring one another. In brotherly kindness and charity, and with an eye single to the glory of God, let us endeavor to do our duty here as ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ; praying God that we may have grace to edify the Church, that we may rejoice that we have not labored in vain in the Lord.

THE LAST PRESIDENTIAL STUMP SPEECH.

From the Chicago Tribune.

THOSE who believed or hoped that the passage of the Civil Rights bill over the veto had had a good effect upon Andrew Johnson, were profoundly disappointed by his speech to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Association in Washington, on the 18th inst. This harangue is, in some respects, the worst exhibition he has yet made of himself in public. The idea running through it, and visible from beginning to end, is that if he (Andrew Johnson) had the power, he would try conclusions with Congress in a way which they wouldn't relish. If he could summon the physical force, which is the only kind of force he thoroughly believes in, he would see whether the Southern States would not be represented at the national capitol! This spirit permeates his whole speech. It glistens here and there like the tongue of a caged snake. "The President," he says, "is the tribune of the people. I thank God I am, and *I intend to assert the power which the people have placed in me.*" What he may have intended to imply, by asserting his power, must be left to conjecture, as he did not define his meaning. He is mistaken, however, in asserting that *the people* ever gave him the power which he is now exercising—much less the power to compel the admission of rebels into Congress. All the power for mischief which he has, was given him by that unparalleled mischief-maker, J. Wilkes Booth. And as for his asserting any power which he has not already asserted, to accomplish the representation of the Southern States in Congress, he dare not, with all his froth and bluster, attempt anything of the kind. Lacking the power to accomplish his ends, he has undertaken to gain it by making stump speeches. He evidently fancies that in putting these harangues before the people of the North he is addressing the poor whites of East Tennessee. "*I* will stand by you," he said to the soldiers and sailors. "*I* led you to victory, while these miserable cowards in Congress were skulking out of danger. *I* fought, bled and died as Military Governor of Tennessee, while the poltroons who passed the Civil Rights bill, the other day, were enjoying their ease in the halls of Congress. *I* stood by you then, and I will stand by you now."

It is difficult to perceive what excess of virtue there was in lording it over the city of Nashville, or that portion of it which was not under fire, over that of attending to one's duties in Congress. The only difference is that the latter was useful while the former was useless. It is a fact that during his term of office as tetrarch of a small portion of Tennessee, Mr. Johnson made himself excessively odious to the army, both officers and privates, serving in that State. The Kentucky soldiers, a few days since, gave expression to their sentiments concerning his usefulness by tabling a resolution endorsing him. If the Army of the West could be polled on the question of Andrew Johnson and his policy, he would not get an average of five votes in each regiment. Yet *he* will stand by them—he will!

Mr. Johnson says that when the rebellion in Massachusetts was put down, Massachusetts was not out of the Union, and when the rebellion in Pennsylvania was put down, Pennsylvania was not out of the Union. This is a brazen falsification of history. Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts was a rebellion against the State itself—a mob, not half so formidable as the New York anti-draft mob in 1863. It was suppressed in a few days by the local militia. The whiskey rebellion in Pennsylvania was an equally insignificant affair, and equally short-lived—a mob, and nothing else. Andrew Johnson would have us believe that Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, at some time in their history, seceded from the Union and levied war against the United States; that they were coerced into submission by the Federal armies, and that then it was decided that they had not been out of the Union at all. We can imagine the astonishment with which the honest soldiers and sailors received the information from the President that Massachusetts and Pennsylvania had each rebelled against the government; but we cannot conceive how Andrew Johnson should have had the hardihood to tell them so. Not to put too fine a point upon it, Mr. Johnson is an unblushing falsifier when he says that Massachusetts and Pennsylvania ever engaged in rebellion against the government.

PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION.

THE Committee of Fifteen have agreed on a report of plan for restoring the Government, as follows:

A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely:

Section 1. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Sec. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But whenever in any State the elective franchise shall be denied to any portion of the male citizens not less than twenty-one years of age, or in any way abridged, except for participation in the rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation in such State shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens not less than twenty-one years of age.

Sec. 3. Until the 4th day of July, 1870, all persons who voluntarily adhered to the late insurrection, giving it aid and comfort, shall be excluded from the right to vote for Members of Congress, and for Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Sec. 4. Neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation already incurred, or which may hereafter be incurred, in aid of the insurrection or war against the United States, or any claim for compensation for loss of involuntary service or labor.

Sec. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this article.

A bill to provide for the restoration of the States lately in rebellion to their full political rights:

Whereas, It is expedient that the States lately in insurrection should at the earliest day consistent with the future peace and safety of the Union be restored to full participation in all political rights.

And whereas, The Congress did by joint resolution propose for ratification to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, an article in the following words, to wit: "The constitutional article here inserted," now, therefore,

Be it enacted, etc., That whenever the above-recited amendment shall have become part of the Constitution, and any State lately in insurrection shall have ratified the same, and shall have modified its Constitution and laws in conformity therewith, the Senators and Representatives from such States, if found duly elected and qualified, may, after having taken the required oaths of office, be admitted into Congress.

Second—And be it further enacted, That when any State lately in insurrection shall have ratified the foregoing proposed amendment to the Constitution, any part of the direct tax, under the act of August 5, 1861, which may remain due and unpaid in such State, may be assumed and paid by such State, and the payment thereof upon proper assurances from such State, to be given to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, may be postponed for a period not exceeding ten years from and after the passage of this act.

The bill declaring certain persons ineligible to office under the government of the United States.

Be it enacted, etc., That no person shall be eligible to any office under the government of the United States, who is included in any of the following classes, namely:

First—The President and Vice-President of the Confederate States of America, so called, and the Heads of Departments thereof.

Second—Those who in other countries acted as agents of the Confederate States of America so called.

Third—Heads of departments of the United States, officers of the Army and Navy of the United States, and all persons educated in the Military or Naval Academy of the United States, Judges of the Courts of the United States, and members of either House of the Thirty-sixth Congress of the United States, who gave aid or comfort to the late rebellion.

Fifth—Those who have treated officers or soldiers or sailors of the Army or Navy of the United States, captured during the late war, otherwise than lawfully, as prisoners of war.

The Committee removed the injunctions of secrecy so far as the above propositions are concerned, and permitted copies to be furnished to the press.

It is understood that the vote upon them was 12 against 3.

As it is known that Senator Johnson and Representatives Grider and Rogers only voted in the negative, the affirmatives must be Senators Fessenden, Grimes, Harris, Howard, and Williams, and Representatives Stevens, Washburne, of Illinois, Morrill, Bingham, Conklin, Boutwell and Blow.

OUT OF EGYPT.

THE Cairo *Times*, a Democratic paper, gives an account of the first political meeting ever held by colored men in that section of Illinois. It assembled on Saturday, 14th inst., to express the gratitude of the colored people for the passage of the Civil Rights bill over the President's veto. Several white persons also attended the meeting. The principal address was made by Col. Olney, one of the ablest lawyers in Southern Illinois, and a radical friend to liberty, equal rights, and the Union. We learn that the democracy, to show their spite, removed him a few days after from the County Attorneyship, an office of no importance to him.

After Col. Olney, a young colored orator named John G. Bird addressed the meeting. The Cairo *Times* says of his speech: "He made one of the most oratorical efforts we have heard in years. His figures of speech would have done credit to any speaker in the land, and evidenced that he was a young man well versed in history, and a faithful and successful student of the English language. He alluded in eloquent terms to the part which the blacks had taken in the late struggle."

The meeting closed with appropriate resolutions of thanks to Congress, and especially to Senators Trumbull and Yates, and an address by D. T. Linegar.

The Chicago *Tribune* truly says: The time has come for colored citizens everywhere to manifest that interest in public affairs, and in obtaining their political rights, the absence of which would argue that they were unworthy and inappreciative of the boon. The modesty, mildness and forbearance in which every such public expression of their wants has been made known, disarms the malice of their enemies, and justifies the confidence of their friends.

THE PRESIDENT'S SUFFERINGS.

[The Chicago *Republican* is fully alive to the fearful encounters which our almost *martyr* President has had heretofore with the dragon of Southern rebellion, and is still waging against the Northern Apollyon that dares lift his shaggy front against his own immaculate "policy" of reconstruction. The *Republican* recites the following brief chapter of history, which may also interest readers of THE STANDARD:]

WHEN the rebellion was projected, Andrew Johnson was in the political confidence of its leaders. He differed from them, not so much as to the merits of the rebellion as to the time and the occasion. He denied that secession was a constitutional right, and there were but few who ever thought so. He admitted that the Southern people had the right of revolution, whereby, if they could do so, they might break up the Union; but he disapproved of the time selected for that revolution, and denied that the occasion for it had arrived. The South had never any serious regard for him personally, and it never entered the mind of any of the conspirators that the success of the rebellion in any manner depended upon his going with them. Their action, therefore, was wholly uninfluenced by his course in the matter. It is true that he did not become a traitor, but is that anything for him to boast of?

When Washington had his family of trusted generals around him, one of them was engaged in treasonable correspondence with the enemy, and eventually saved his neck by flight to the British camp. We never heard that Knox, or Lincoln, or Green, ever thought that he had sacrificed his worldly prospects because he had not followed Arnold to the British lines, nor because he had not exchanged the title of patriot for that of traitor. Indeed, the men of that day thought, and posterity has ratified the opinion, that, by his treason, Arnold had suffered and sacrificed more than did his companions who remained faithful. They lived to enjoy the grateful blessings of a nation; he lived long enough to have a vision of the horror and shame which will forever be identified with his name.

Mr. Johnson remained in the Senate, drawing his pay and mileage, equal to about $5,000 per annum, until he left that place, not for the field and its dangers, not for the camp, not to engage in armed conflict with the rebels, but to live at Nashville, as Governor of the State of Tennessee, drawing for his services the pay and emoluments of a Brigadier-General. He had given up his pay and mileage as a Senator for the better pay and emoluments of a Brigadier, who was never to have a brigade, never to smell powder, never to see a hostile bayonet, and to have no other duties than those of a public magistrate. Was that a sacrifice, either pecuniary or otherwise? He held that office, enjoying to the full bent of his will the gratification of punishing his personal enemies and rewarding his friends, until his inauguration as Vice-President, when he entered upon a higher office, with higher pay, to be succeeded, a few weeks later, by his present exalted station. It is a fact that he owned a few slaves, who, in common with the slaves of his neighbors, became free under the emancipation policy; but the loss of these must have been a small sacrifice; because the value of the property was small, and that value was comparatively nothing, we have the President's assurance that he did not hold them as merchandize, and had never sold one.

What, then, are the sacrifices which the President has made, and which are so terrible that he never tires of reminding the people of them? In his latent speech he contrasts his own conduct with that of those civilians who retained their place in the Senate while he went to the post of danger. In what battle did he ever take part more sanguinary than one of words with the contumacious parsons of Nashville, or the vixen-like females who may have sought passes from him? It was true, that members of his family had held high military rank, and, it may be, reached the front at some time, but none were ever killed in battle, or disabled by reason of any service in the cause of their country. During the war they shared with their chief the rewards of official and lucrative stations, knowing no sacrifice but that of enjoying substantial honors as patriots, in place of the discomforts of service in the rebel army. The frequency and persistency with which the President insists upon presenting his statement of woeful sacrifices, should induce some friend of his in Congress to have that portion of his various speeches referred to a select committee to examine and report what measure of compensation, if any, is needed to rehabilitate him in the good condition he enjoyed before the rebellion.

The President repeats his argument that there can be no taxation without representation, and that it is a violation of the Constitution for Congress to inquire whether there is any State governments in the districts so recently in insurrection. While he denies this right to Congress as the National Legislature, he most inconsistently concedes that power to the two Houses respectively. Thus, he insists that the House of Representatives may decide for itself whether there is any government in North Carolina, having authority to enact laws and to provide for the election of Representatives; and the Senate may decide, without the concurrence of the House or Executive, whether there has ever been a Legislature lawfully elected in either of the rebel States. Because Congress propose to decide that question by an act of legislation to which the Executive, by his approval, will be a party, and denies to its own Houses respectively any such sweeping authority, the President denounces them as revolutionists and traitors. Can folly go any further?

NECESSITY FOR A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

[The Detroit *Post* has looked over portions of the Southern States legislation in behalf of the Freedmen, and concludes that some form of Civil Rights bill will be as necessary for their lives, not to say liberties, as while they were in slavery. It says:]

IF the several Southern States had done simple justice toward the freedmen—secured to them the ordinary civil rights belonging to free men—there would have been no good cause for either the Freedmen's Bureau or the Civil Rights bill. But the Southern States have *not* accepted emancipation as a fixed fact, entitling the late slaves to the ordinary rights of free men; hence the Civil Rights law and the Freedmen's Bureau are absolute necessities, created by the Southern States themselves.

Look at the "reconstructed" laws of the State of Louisiana. The Legislature of that State has issued its laws concerning freedmen in pamphlet form. Act number one provides that freedmen must make contracts for labor by the year, and within the first ten days of January. The heads of families are to make contracts binding out their entire family. White men can hire out when they please, or for as long or short a term as they please.

Act number two is entitled "an act to prohibit the carrying of fire-arms on the premises or plantation of any citizen without the consent of the owner." It is intended to disarm the freedmen—even those who have fought in our armies—and is contrary to that provision of the Constitution which declares that "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." Moreover, it is made to apply to freedmen and laborers employed on plantations, and not to white "gentlemen."

Act number three, "To prevent trespassing," forbids freedmen or laborers employed on a plantation from leaving it to visit their friends, and also prohibits their friends—Union white men, teachers, or clergymen—from visiting them.

Act number four declares unemployed freedmen, who have not made contracts during the first ten days in January, "vagrants," and provides for selling them to planters for one year, or compelling them to work upon the public roads or levees without contract or fair wages, unless the "vagrant" can give security for good behavior in just such a sum as any Justice may choose to demand.

Act number five is entitled "An Act to provide for the punishment of persons for tampering with, persuading, or enticing away, *harboring, or* FEEDING, *or secreting laborers, servants, or apprentices.*" No comment is needed upon such a law.

Act number six provides for seizing and "apprenticing" "all persons under the age of eighteen, if females, and twenty-one, if males," of certain conditions.

Act number seven provides that freedmen must carry passes, and punishes any "Yank" who may dare employ a negro without a written discharge of his former "reconstructed" employer.

The Legislature of Mississippi passed four acts relative to freedmen. Their titles are as follows:

"1st. 'An act to confer civil rights on freedmen, and for other purposes.'

"2d. 'An act to regulate the relation of master and apprentice, as relates to freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes.'

"3d. An act to amend the vagrant laws of the State.'

"4th. 'An act to punish certain offenses therein named, and for other purposes.'"

These are all special *class laws*, not applying to white men at all. Of their character the following are specimens. Section 4, of the fourth act, reads:

"*Be it further enacted*, That all the penal and criminal laws *now in force in this State*, defining offenses and prescribing the modes of punishment for crimes and misdemeanors committed by slaves, free negroes or mulattoes, be and the same are hereby *re-enacted and declared to be in full force and effect against freedmen*, free negroes, and mulattoes, except so far as the mode and manner of trial and punishment have been changed or altered by law."

That is, the entire penal and criminal part of the slave code is *re-enacted against freedmen!* Here is one of these "re-enacted" laws:

"Art. 58, Sec. xi., p. 248 Rev. Code makes it punishable with death for a negro to murder, commit rape, burn houses, commit robbery, *or attempt to commit such crimes.* White persons are not punishable with death for most of the offenses mentioned in this section, nor for the attempt to commit any one of them."

Article 45 of the above-named act, page 245, provides that a slave shall receive twenty lashes if he be found away from the place of his employment without a pass. This is re-enacted for freedmen.

Article 46, page 246, awards thirty-nine lashes to the slave for buying or selling without written permission. Re-enacted for the freedmen.

Article 476, page 24, allows civil officers and others to appropriate to their own use any article a slave may be seeking to sell. Re-enacted for the freedmen.

Article 51, page 247, makes it punishable for negroes to congregate at night, or hold schools, etc. Re-enacted as above.

Article 63, page 249—Both ears are to be cut off for false witness. (No white ears are to be served so.) Re-enacted as above.

All these "re-enacted" laws are barbarous and directly contrary to the promise and pledge of the emancipation proclamation and the amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery, to carry out which the Civil Rights bill was passed.

And the laws of South Carolina are still worse.

In the face of these inhuman codes, the President's dreary talk about the good disposition of the Southern people, and the Democratic twaddle of the same sort, are unmitigated bosh and sham.

THE NEW PLOT.

From the Detroit Post.

EVIDENCES multiply on every hand that the Democracy are seeking to force the President to attempt a *coup d'état*, so as to plunge the country into a new civil war, for the coming of which they are working might and main to prepare the masses of their party. The Cincinnati *Enquirer*, for instance, lays down the programme thus:

"*But the Congress is no Congress, nor are the laws laws; for they are binding upon nobody: not even upon they who call themselves the constituents of those by whom they were begotten.* A refusal of the President to give his approval to any of the acts of the *pseudo* Congress would bring the usurpative character of that body palpably before the people, and awaken a degree of attention to its deformity which does not now exist. Such a position, taken and maintained, would, in all probability, be followed by an attempt to expel the President from office by process of impeachment, which would raise the question, whether a President, who is, in every sense, a complete constitutional branch of the government, should be deposed by a body professing to be another branch, but which, through its own malfeasance, wants the qualities essential to constitutional authority? Under such circumstances, if the President should want the ability to take care of himself, it would argue on his part, the absence of that spirit and courage which, in high factious times, it is necessary for the Chief of a great nation to possess, not for his own sake alone, but for the sake of the people, whose interests and welfare are identical with his."

"Congress is no Congress;" therefore it possesses no authority, and is simply a revolutionary body, which ought to be dispersed. "Nor are the laws laws, for they are binding upon nobody;" hence, if the Democrats could only succeed in obtaining possession of the government, they would declare greenbacks, emancipation, military occupation, the national debt, the amendment to the Constitution, the Freedmen's Bureau, the Civil Rights law, and all the other acts and measures of the government since Buchanan's time unconstitutional and void, and the Union, with slavery reinstated, and the debt, money, and bonds of the republic repudiated, just as it was in the old days of the Fugitive Slave law, and the Kansas imbroglio, with, probably, Jeff Davis and Breckinridge, Mason, Slidell, and the rest of the banished traitors back in the United States Senate and House. This consummation could not be reached without civil war, and that this civil war may come, is expected to come, we have been solemnly warned by the organ of the reconstructed rebellion in this city. The *Free Press* of March 31, 1866, says:

> "The idea that the people of this country will not fight for their principles is exploded, and now it behooves all—patriots, statesmen, and rulers—to carefully adapt their action to this teaching of our experience."

If this means anything it means that the party it speaks for will fight for their principles. What are their "principles?" Opposition to impartial suffrage; a determination to maintain a caste distinction founded upon the color of a man's skin; the immediate admission of Congressmen from the Southern States; State sovereignty. For these the party will fight on occasion! and one of the occasions is distinctly pointed out. The *Free Press* continues in the same article:

> "The people will not permit Congress to impose negro suffrage or negro equality upon them. They cannot pass their Freedmen's Bureau or Civil Rights bills over the veto of the Executive, and enforce their execution. He is sworn to maintain the Constitution of the country. He has in the most formal manner pronounced these measures unconstitutional. He cannot, in the face of this, execute them, *under any circumstances*, unless the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that he is mistaken, and that Congress is right. *Any attempt to compel him to do so*, previous to such a decision, or to impeach him for not doing so, *will, in our opinion*, PRODUCE THIS CIVIL WAR."

In the same article (March 31, 1866), the *Free Press* proceeds to describe the character of the civil war—the kind of "fighting for their principles"—it contemplates. It says:

> "Let it not be forgotten that civil war is not a war of sections, *but of* PARTIES; that it is not States that are in hostility to each other, *but the people in each State*, AND IN EACH COUNTY AND TOWN. Such a war will not be fought at a distance by men who are first taxed to pay its expenses, and then sent to do the fighting by those who can safely sit in their chairs in the Congress of the United States and direct the fighting; *but it will be fought* HERE AT HOME, *in every town and hamlet*, and God help the weakest, for of all wars known in history, none are so unrelenting as these civil strifes, where brother fights brother, and father opposes son."

So this war which it threatens is to be "a war between *parties*." What parties? The only two parties that exist—a war between the Democrats and Republicans; and it is to be begun by the Democrats "*fighting* for their principles," instead of appealing to their ballot-box, just as the Southern wing of that party did in 1861. It is to be a war in every "county and town," an "unrelenting" war, in which "God help the weakest!" It will be begun if an attempt is made to compel the President to do his duty and take care that a law constitutionally passed is faithfully executed, or to impeach him for not doing his sworn duty! And if either of these attempts is made, certainly the Republicans will not rebel and start a civil war; so the Democrats must, if the *Free Press* tells the truth.

The *cause* for which its party would fight being fixed, and the *occasion*, and the *character* of the war it contemplates, it proceeds, the very next day, to indicate the *time*. That time is within this decade—now half run out—*before the year* 1870. The *Free Press* of April 1, 1866, says:

> "Can it be that this country has so incurred the displeasure of the Almighty that *twice within a decade* we are to raise our hands against each other? We fear it!"

The plot is complete. For its execution at any moment it only lacks one element—courage to set it in operation. Its leaders are fellows who "let *I dare not* wait upon *I would*." The South has discovered the folly of relying upon the promises of the Northern Democrats who received them in 1861, and who, in case war should really occur, would, as they did before, stay at home and do the swearing and grumbling, leaving their Southern allies to do the actual fighting alone. To this, and in the unmistakable firmness of the Northern people and in the pluck and resolution of Congress, we shall owe it, under Providence, if we escape a new revolt. To make that escape sure, to defeat the plot, there is but one certain way, and that is to do right boldly and fearlessly, to dare do justice to all men. The knuckling, cringing, *compromising* policy was thoroughly tried before the late war, and thoroughly failed. It only encouraged rebellion.

A BRIEF AND BRILLIANT FINANCIAL CANDLE.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

The Loan bill, which has passed both Houses, provides against any rapid contraction of the currency, but it provides for funding in long gold bonds all the existing currency debt. It abandons the advantage of paying the depreciated currency debt in the same currency, and adopts the policy of increasing it to specie value, for the sake of clearing it away for the more speedy return to specie redemption of the currency. This is regarded as so vital that we deliberately adopt measures which will add not less than forty per cent. to 1,700 millions of currency debt to hasten it.

The bill will also furnish the means for those operations on the gold market for which the Treasury management has such a strange propensity.

We should be glad if we could see an advantage to the public welfare from this hastening of specie payment that will compensate for this large addition to the permanent debt.

The opponents of the bill appeared to be satisfied with the restriction on the funding of greenbacks, and with this provided, they were indifferent to the funding of currency debt in gold bonds, to be paid when money will be as much dearer than now, as the amount of currency now is greater than that which can be carried along on specie payment.

They, as well as Mr. McCulloch, are led by the circumstance that specie has declined without any contraction of the currency, into the delusion that specie payment can be established without any natural contraction. They think that this war, which turned the great energies of the country from production to destruction, has so increased wealth and trade, that although we could never carry 200 millions of currency long on specie payment before, now we can carry 750 millions.

Mr. Sherman, although he was one of the few who opposed the bill to the last, entertained and advocated this belief. It is as profound a monetary idea as the attempt to prevent an irredeemable and continually increasing currency from depreciating, by legislating against trading in specie; but it is a delusion vastly more dangerous. With an expanded currency, whether redeemable in specie or not, we shall have that state of trade which will cause an outflow of money to pay balances abroad. No matter how great our cotton crop, or the quantity of bonds we make to ship, the unnatural trade made by such a supply of money will eventually exhaust them, and bring that drain of specie which will collapse the whole monetary system.

SPANISH SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

Madrid, February 15, 1866.

Our readers have been already informed of the proposed inauguration in Havana of an *Association against the slave trade.*

We copy the following articles from its programme:

"Chapter 1—This Society has for its object to aid in the complete and definitive extinction of the illicit traffic known as the African *trade*.

"With this purpose, all who enter bind themselves, upon honor, to abstain from every act which tends to favor that trade, and, moreover, to fulfil the following obligations:

"These obligations are, in brief, not to purchase negroes imported into the island since November 19, 1865; to contribute to the object of the Association by such means as their consciences shall dictate; and to propagate its principles, as well by personal inculcation as by inducing the largest possible number of persons to become members."

The Captain General could hardly do less than consent to an Association whose members only propose to comply with the established laws, like good citizens. He did, however, refer the Constitution of the Society to the Supreme Government for approval, and we now learn, to our extreme surprise, that the minister for the Colonies refuses the necessary authorization.

We deem this proceeding so anomalous, and so directly in contradiction to the promises of the minister respecting the suppression of the slave trade, that we endeavor not to believe the report, and suspend all comment until we receive definite information as to what has been done in this important matter. At present, we can only say that a very respectable person writes from Havana as follows:

> "The government of Spain has refused permission for the establishment of the association against the slave trade. Those people are blind."

—*Abolicionista Español.*

PORTO RICO.

Honor to Porto Rico! The island which has not stained her skirts by trading in human beings since the law declared that nefarious traffic criminal, now reaps the fruit of her integrity. While Cuba trembles for her future, holding hundreds of thousands of slaves who wish to be and will be free, Porto Rico counts barely 40,000, not so unhappy nor so badly treated as those of the larger island, and the change of labor already begins to produce its legitimate result. Freemen supply the places of slaves, and the sweat of their brows fertilizes her fields and multiplies the fruits of her toil. For those who resist the light of truth and deny the important results of abolition, we point to the example of Porto Rico, producing more sugar as her slavery diminishes, and presenting everywhere more well-being and happiness, more peace, more prosperity and morality. The agricultural, commercial, and criminal statistics also proclaim the fact by the irrefragable arguments of comparative numbers.

Porto Rico has solved her negro problem. Cuba recoils before hers. Verily! there is a Providence.—*Abolicionista Español.*

A Man of I-deas.—A correspondent of the Chicago *Republican* has a curious analysis of Mr. Johnson's speech on the 18th inst. to the so-called soldiers and sailors, and it appears that in that speech "he used the personal pronoun *I* 72 times, and *me* 14 times; the possessive pronoun *my*, 14 times; *we*, 38 times; *us*, 11 times; *our*, 6 times; *he*, referring to himself, 11 times, and *his*, twice—making in all, 168 references to himself in a speech containing not far from 3,000 words, or one in every 18 words."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1866.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the City of New York, at the Church of the Puritans, on Union Square, on Tuesday, May 8th, at 10 o'clock. In the evening, there will be another public meeting at 7½ o'clock.

The meetings will be addressed by Wendell Phillips, Lucretia Mott, Charles Lenox Remond, Rev. J. T. Sargent, Rev. O. B. Frothingham, Theodore Tilton, Parker Pillsbury, and others.

On Wednesday morning at ten o'clock, the Society and its friends will hold a session for business, in the lecture room of the same church.

The rights of the Negro are to day in more fearful peril than at any period since the first fire on Sumter. We appeal to the friends of freedom to come together and see what may be and should be done to strengthen the hands and hearts of those who are fighting his battle.

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

Wendell Phillips, Pres.

C. K. Whipple,
A. M. Powell, } Secretaries.

WILL THE PEOPLE SUSTAIN CONGRESS?

The American Anti-Slavery Society assembles at the church of the Puritans in this city next Tuesday morning. It has held important councils before; but never one more important than this. Everybody asks, Will the people sustain Congress? A more important question is, *Will the Abolitionists point the way?*

When Congress assembled last December, it was believed there was wide difference between it and the Executive. True the President had once, a good while before, nominated himself *the Moses* to lead our colored Israel out of Egypt. And both houses of Congress stood ready, like another Aaron and Hur, "to stay up his hands." But "Moses" petrified into Pharaoh. Then he and Congress were at variance. A year or two before, he had told the colored men of Tennessee (loyal all of them to liberty and the country), "loyal men must rule the States, black or white; and none other." On entering the presidential office, by the grace and gift of Wilkes Booth's bullet, he declared,

> "I am in favor of leniency; but, in my opinion, evil-doers should be punished. Treason is the highest crime known in the catalogue of crimes, and for him that is guily of it—for him that is willing to lift his impious hand against the authority of the nation,—I would say, death is too easy a punishment. My notion is that treason must be made odious, *and traitors must be punished and impoverished, their social power broken; they must be made to feel the penalty of their crime.*"

In all this, most of the nation with Congress rejoiced. And had both parties remained true to their Confession, reconstruction had been simple, and before now consummated. Nor need the gallows (horrible relic of barbarism) have fattened on a single victim.

It was believed that in Congress, the people might hope and trust. Vanquished in the Freedmen's Bureau, they still triumphed in the "bill of Civil Rights," and so all seemed secure. The one issue on which all depends, that of full justice to the colored race, and suffrage irrespective of complexion or nation, was not provided for in the bill, but it was claimed that suffrage was "the next step;" and would be insisted on as others had been before. Many doubted. Many more had fears. Warning voices were heard. Congress has already given great signs of weakness. The vigor and virtue of December waned in January. The presidential fulmination of February, breathed mildew over both houses. March found even Senator Sumner proposing to invest the Southern rebels, by constitutional decree, with right and power to disfranchise their whole colored population forever, on certain conditions. The war had proved the slaveholders ready to die, rather than give up their slaves. But on easy terms they may grind them in perpetual serfdom, as cruel and unjust as slavery itself, under constitutional sanction; with that same constitution, protecting them from "domestic violence," should their victims attempt a higher freedom. All this outrage is proposed under the good name of "*Constitutional Amendment!*"

The civil rights act was no declaration, still less triumph of freedom. To any class of persons in the land but the colored, it would be an outrage. It would not have postponed the revolution of 1776, a single hour. It is taxation without representation. It is forced obedience to laws, in the enacting, or executing of which, millions have no part. More millions than made the American revolution. Who believes such an enactment by Parliament would have staid the thunders of Bunker hill, or prevented the still louder peals of the Declaration of Independence?

Andrew Johnson must have exulted to see the people of color so jubilant over such a measure. The bill almost justifies his daring declaration to them, that he after all, was "their best friend!" As a "progressive step," were it such, it were perhaps well. But the Reconstruction committee of fifteen has now reported, and proved the bill a *compromise*. It is a substitute for suffrage and citizenship. It is the blighted harvest of the bloodiest sowing, the fields of the world, ever saw. It is worse than deferred justice and freedom in 1862, which prolonged the war through three dismal years, with their proportionally augmented woes. It is worse than Emancipation under "military necessity" at the latest moment, when reason and righteousness, nature and God had been demanding it from the beginning, as an act of penitence on our part and of justice to our victims. Rebels deserving death under all the codes of civilization, determine merely in virtue of their white skins, not only who may vote and be citizens, but all the terms and elements of their State governments. While all the truly loyal there, are only on account of their *colored* skins, swept back to a vassalage scarcely better than slavery itself, under any circumstances, and their old tyrants still reign over them. As slaves they did not hate them. But *now*, as the soldiers whose loyalty shamed, and whose valor subdued them, and crushed their rebellion, they will (and do already) consume them with rage and wrath. And now, as the New York *Herald* joyfully says: "After five months of exhausting researches and labor this joint committee of Congress find that they can do nothing better than follow in the wake of Andrew Johnson. From his initial Virginia and North Carolina proclamations of May last down to this day, all the proceedings of the Executive looking to the reclamation of the States delivered from the rebellion are substantially approved and accepted by Congress. The processes by which he secured the ratification of the great constitutional amendment abolishing and interdicting slavery are considered as satisfactorily settling that question. His exceptions of leading rebels in his amnesty proclamation, are interwoven in this Congressional plan. His views, too, of the exclusive authority of the States over the suffrage question are accepted; at least the question is surrendered to the States; and, above all, the status of the late insurgent States, as defined in his annual message, is recognized as correct, to wit—that the rebellion impaired their functions as States, *but did not destroy them.*"

"*Will the people sustain Congress*" now? is a serious question! Three months ago, the leaders in both houses spurned the President and his policy alike. They conjured the people to do so too. They scorned the President; he hated them, and does still. Now on the one, only vital issue, they are at agreement. No one doubts the readiness of the President to approve of negro suffrage, when the states accept it. Congress no longer asks him to do it *before*. And so they wrap it up.

After all, the distance between policy and principle is immeasurable. It may be asking too much of human nature to insist that politicians shall be honest, or governments just. But there is a power to whom appeal should ever be pertinent in behalf of truth and righteousness, and that is the church. Will it sustain Congress in longer trampling on the laws of heaven and the liberties of mankind? It has tens of thousands of ordained priests, and a membership of millions. Were its moral power equal to its numerical and material, it would be omnipotent against every conspiracy for abridging human freedom. And what is Congress sitting to-day in the Capitol, but a conspiracy against justice and liberty? Why have not all men in the land the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," in full exercise and enjoyment? At some door lies the fault. Liberty is fallen in the streets, and equality cannot enter. In some skirts is the guilt. Congress has the power and the right, and it is its solemn duty to look to these things. It has no right to exist at all, if it be not so. Till all men are made free and equal, it is a usurper. If there be a Constitutional lion in the way, he must be slain in the name of freedom. A Constitutional hindrance to such a step, is rebellion against the laws of the moral universe.

But Congress is not the light of the world, nor surely the salt of the earth; and the Church is false to its trust, if it do not lead the way. Otherwise it has no trust, and no right to be. It is a pretender, a hypocrite, worthless, harmful, deadly, unless in such a crisis, it can be successfully invoked in behalf of so hallowed a cause. A ministry of thousands, a communion of myriads should be ashamed that injustice and oppression can so long reign with such daring sway. But the pulpit is false to its trust. Its most faithful men are proscribed. They have been, in all the years of the anti-slavery conflict. Its boasted revivals are now as before, urged as a reason for postponing the claims of humanity. Its converts are not taught the holiest principles of justice and righteousness, but the formulas and catechisms of sect and creed. The story of the good Samaritan never gets preached as a "*revival sermon.*" And so pulpit and politician, church, state and people, with professions of religion and republicanism, mount into place, power and respectability, over the prostrate bodies, souls and liberties of millions of beings as immortal as themselves.

Reconstruction is a fraud in the mouth of President or Congress, till all men in the nation are free as themselves. Religion is a bare falsehood if it do not demand this as the first great work of the government to perform, if all are not thus free. And if the President prove false, and Congress treacherous, and the Church unfaithful, who but the Abolitionists remain to bear onward the standard of eternal justice, and sound the claims of humanity in the ears of a deluded, besotted world? Let this be remembered in connection with the decisions as to who will or will not come up to the approaching anniversary.

SEEING AT LAST.

The Republican party-leaders, now that they are made to feel the iron hand of presidential proscription, are willing to acknowledge what everybody else knew before. They have hood-winked honest people into hearty support of their President, when they themselves must have doubted of his loyalty to justice and liberty more than to party, if they were not absolutely assured of his treason. And now as he is about to deliver the country bound hand and foot and almost ruined, back into the power and the policy too of the rebels and their more wicked northern allies, they are crying out on every hand. Forney in his Philadelphia *Press* speaks as below:

> Doubt or deny it as we may, it is nevertheless true that nearly the entire patronage of the Federal government has been placed at the disposition of the Democratic leaders in Congress, in districts represented by what are called radicals, or where the party organization is controlled (as in nearly every instance it is) by the people who sympathize with these same radicals. In the city of Philadelphia the four Republican members of Congress are systematically humiliated by Andrew Johnson. If I would relate the incidents in proof of this assertion you would be startled. Under his orders honest men are regularly turned out and doubtful or disreputable men put in. The Cabinet ministers themselves stand aghast at a system which has nothing to excuse or justify it, and can only be explained by an insane or revengeful spirit in the Executive. This is what Andrew Johnson calls sustaining "my policy" within the lines of the Union party. For instance; he almost authorizes the Hon. Samuel J. Randall, the vigilant and determined Democratic representative in Congress from the first district, to make the national appointments in Philadelphia—confining him, however, to selections from the Republican Union party! In New Jersey, it is no longer a matter of speculation that the offices of the western counties have been handed over to that somewhat notorious personage, James M. Scovel, of Camden. If an honest cabinet minister hesitates to fulfil any of the requests coming from such gentlemen, he is brought up with what is called a "round turn" by a positive presidential order, and, with a shrug of contempt, the commission is made out, sent to the President and by him forwarded to the Senate. The system extends throughout the Union, although it is evident that we in Pennsylvania are to be subjected to its most merciless manifestations. We are to feel the whole brunt of pro-slavery hatred and Presidential revenge. If President Johnson and William H. Seward can sacrifice us, it will assuredly be done. You ask whether the Senate will permit such infamous proscription to succeed? To this I have only to answer, that the feeling excited by such a spectacle—among the masses—among those who fought for the Republic on the field, and who sustained it by their ballots in private life—is fully responded to by their public servants here. There is consolation in this, at all events. Nothing is so significant, however, as the fact that Andrew Johnson cannot enforce his design without the aid of the democratic leaders. He finds no Republican willing to undertake the task of proscribing honest men in office, and he therefore coolly seeks the assistance of men who have been his especial personal assailants, and who have steadily voted against the measures of the party that elevated him. This is out-Tylerizing Tyler. Treachery so unprovoked and unexampled will react of course. Even the men who take the bounty of Andrew Johnson, will at last be ashamed of assisting to destroy the great organization with which they have been associated, while those who have been called upon to endure his proscription—most of them being men of high character and influence in their respective localities—will be more than ever endeared to their fellow-citizens.
>
> Occasional.

New for My Maryland.—The first case of a colored witness being introduced in a State Court of Maryland, occurred at Annapolis last week. The counsel introducing the testimony claimed the right to do so under the Civil Rights bill.

Rights of Colored Children.—Douglass County, Kansas, has taken the initiative in doing justice to the colored people in that State. The Lawrence *Journal* says, Mr. J. S. Brown, superintendent of common schools of that county, has decided that he will not pay over moneys for school purposes to any district school which excludes colored children, holding that such a school is not a public school. The case came up on the statement of a colored person that his children had not equal privileges with white children in the school of one of the districts of Douglass county. The Superintendent refuses to give an order upon the County Treasurer for school money for that district.

Henry Ward Beecher is not alone among orthodox clergymen in his doubts about the nature and duration of future retribution. It is said that

> "Several books have recently been published in England in refutation of the doctrine of the future everlasting punishment of the impenitent. Rev. Charles Kingsley, the well known author, has lately preached a sermon in the Chapel Royal in which he intimated his disbelief in this standard doctrine of all evangelical Christians, and several other clergymen are named as holding with him that the natural immortality of the soul cannot be established either by reason or Scripture, that eternal life is conferred by God through Christ upon the redeemed, and that the wicked are destined literally to perish. These views are said to be gaining many adherants both in and out of the Established Church. There seems to be a singular theological unsettling, so to speak, in the English mind, and we attribute it in no small measure to the insidious way in which heresies have been incorporated into the literature of the day."

We might rather be inclined to say the "heresies" are owing to the bold, open, disregard of all the most vital claims of the true gospel upon the "Established Church" of old England, and the organized and virtually established church and clergy of our own country. A church in any country that preaches, "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" and then for a hundred years sells its neighbors into slavery, had better look out for heresies in the outside world. A religion anywhere, that actually *breeds* neighbors like sheep and cattle to sell in the shambles, must expect "heresies" of daring quality. Or rather a religion that, after God has overturned its slavery by the might of his own arm, still refuses to acknowledge the equal rights of citizenship to the slaves, and holds them in "*negro pew*" subjection at the ballot-box and the sacramental table, is itself one of those "damnable heresies" of apostolic execration, for which all mankind should cherish a like abhorrence.

The Nation.—"Issued every Tuesday and Friday," at "five dollars per annum," is the announcement for the second volume. Its first year has been a success beyond its expectations, and it very reasonably predicts for itself a still more prosperous future, though it disclaims being a *newspaper, magazine, or review.*"

PERSONAL.

Mr. George Ripley, of the N. Y. *Tribune*, sailed from Boston on Wednesday, for Europe, where he intends to remain several months.

Dr. Livingstone, who has gone on another expedition into the interior of Africa, has arrived at Zanzibar. He proposes to explore the country further than before, and is fully prepared for his perilous enterprise.

A Connecticut office-seeker recently sent to the President an application for an appointment, closing it with an inquiry whether the breach between the President and Congress could not be repaired. The President wrote in reply that he is not so much in the line of "repairing breeches" as he formerly was.

Horace H. Day's Niagara Ship Canal bill was to-day got through the House as a military measure. All the farming lands fronting on the river on the American side for at least seven miles below the falls, are encumbered with contracts for use and occupation secured by Horace H. Day long ago in anticipation of the passage of this bill.

A suit has been brought against Maj.-Gen. Woods, commanding Department of Alabama, by A. G. Dexter, for false imprisonment, on a charge of stealing government cotton; damages laid at $500,000. Judge Stansbury, of Ohio, and E. A. Otis, of Nashville, are counsel for Gen. Woods, B. F. Butler, Judge Campbell, and others are counsel for the complainant. The case will be tried at Mobile.

Mons. Gustave Dore, the eminent artist, went on top the towers of Notre Dame, in Paris, recently, and throwing himself over the balustrade, suspended himself with one hand to it, kept his body in a straight line, kicked his heels together and then bounded back again behind the balustrade. His friends were breathless while he was giving this evidence of his progress as a gymnast.

A private dispatch, printed in the Boston *Traveller*, states that Chief-Justice Chase and other leading radicals will be content if the constitutional amendment introduced lately by Senator Wilson, or its equivalent, can be adopted by the Reconstruction Committee. If that be so, it must be admitted that "Chief-Justice Chase and other leading radicals" are easily satisfied. Better proposals are before Congress, and with perhaps quite as bright prospect of success.

The formal excommunication of Bishop Colenso, of Port Natal, South Africa, took place on the 5th of January, by which he is declared as separated from the communion of the church of Christ, "so long as he shall obstinately and impenitently persist in his heresy, and claim to exercise the office of a Bishop within the province of Capetown." The heretical Doctor has intimated, however, his intention to maintain his legal rights as Bishop, and a suit to settle the question is in prospect.

The Boston *Congregationalist* regrets that the *North American Review* should give circulation to such articles as that in the April number on "Character," by Ralph Waldo Emerson. There are publications, it says, in which it would not seem out of place; but the *Review* claims to be the leading literary periodical of the country, and so long as this is so, its editors have no right to insert papers which outrage the religious sentiments of a large proportion of its readers. Mr. Emerson's article is a subtle attack on Christianity, as the word is generally understood, and its whole theory is false and its assumptions unwarranted." If Mr. Emerson's attack is on "*Christianity as generally*" practiced, it is not out of place anywhere. And as to "outrage on the religious sentiments" of a slaveholding church, or a church still in complicity with our negro hating, negro proscribing governments, State and Federal, one must think it not very necessary to regard them.

A Jamaica newspaper speaks thus of Gov. Eyre, the person who caused women to be flogged with wire cats and permitted men to be shot down like rabbits or quails as they ran from a savage soldiery: "The declining health of this truly good and pious man, worthy governor and savior of our fair land from the horrors of a wicked rebellion, compels him, we are informed, to seek a change in his native land to recruit an impaired constitution, caused from long and meritorious colonial service. The best wishes of the respectability and educated of the country will go with him whenever he leaves our shores." This "truly good and pious man" could not remember who told him the falsehoods on which he founded that exciting romance, his "official report," every part of which, except the reports of woman whipping, house burning, and indiscriminate shooting by his own men, proved to be untrue.

The Chester County (Pa.) *Republican*, says: It is now pretty well understood that President Johnson has resolved to defeat the election of Gen. Geary for Governor of Pennsylvania, and with the view of accomplishing this fact, is determined to have a third candidate in the field. To his man "Friday"—Senator Cowan—has been assigned the dirty work, assisted by that political beggar, Wm. F. Johnson, who has just received the appointment of Collector of United States Internal Revenue, for the 23d Congressional District, of which Pittsburg forms a part; together with Senator Buckalew, and the whole of the Democratic party. They are to have the entire control of the patronage of the general government in the State, to aid them. Already the guillotine is at work, and a number of good Union men who would not sink their manhood, and bow down and worship "my policy," have had notice to quit.

A special dispatch to the New York *Times*, says: It appears from the records in the War Department that with the exception of the President's proclamation, none but verbal orders were given for the capture of Jefferson Davis. Major-Gen. Wilson says that Lieut.-Cols. Harndon and Pritchard are entitled to great credit for the zeal and activity with which they conducted the pursuit and that it is but simple justice to these worthy officers to remark that they were ignorant of the reward at the time of the capture. Col. Pritchard says it was so dark that he could not distinguish the uniforms. In the course of his narrative he says: "On the return to the camp I was accosted by Davis from among the prisoners, who asked if I was the officer in command; and upon my answering him that I was, and asking him what I was to call him, he replied, that I might call him what or whoever I pleased; when I replied to him that I would call him Davis; and upon a moment's hesitation he said that was his name. Then he drew himself up and exclaimed: 'I suppose you consider it bravery to charge a train of defenceless women and children; but it is theft and vandalism.'" Nothing is said in the narrative about his being disguised.

THE FREEDMEN.

The following extracts of letters from teachers in Virginia, are interesting as showing not only most gratifying zeal and progress on the part of learners, but also of splendid capabilities of all kinds, on the part of teachers. Colored suffrage and woman's suffrage, though indirectly, are powerfully pleaded here. The extracts are from the *Freedmen's Journal:*

THE SCHOOL AT POCAHONTAS.

Miss Minnie A. Hill has shown much zeal and tact in the management of this enterprise.

Some time since, we received the following account of the first meeting held to consider the plan proposed, viz., to purchase a lot and rely upon friends at the North to aid them in the erection of a building. The lot has been purchased and the first payment made. The Committee on Correspondence and Organization has taken special pains to interest benevolent persons in the project, and already there are nearly sufficient funds on hand to complete the building. The foundation has been laid, and a commodious building at City Point, built by the Christian Commission for a chapel, has been purchased and will be removed to Pocahontas.

"Petersburg, Va.

"Dear Sir: The first of this week I left word at every house in Pocahontas that I wanted to see every colored man in the place at my school-room on Thursday night, on matters of great importance to every one of them. The result was, I had my room full; I stated to them your plan, told them of the benefits that would come to them and to their children after them; in brief, I talked the whole thing up the best I knew how. Just before I sat down, I called on each one present to state what his opinion was in regard to the matter. Every man expressed himself pleased with the plan, and said he would do what he could to further it. Some two or three seemed a wee bit shy, thought that perhaps, after all, they might be cheated; I told them I would settle that beyond a possibility of a cheat. I then put the matter before them in this way: All who are in favor of buying a building spot in Pocahontas, for school purposes, manifest it by rising. Every man in the house was on his feet almost before I had the words out of my mouth. I then took the name of every man present. Some pledged themselves for twenty dollars, some ten, some five, and so on. I soon found I could raise the money, not all at once, but by installments, the last to be paid before the first Monday in next June. I then appointed a committee consisting of five, whose business it should be to look out a lot, and ascertain how large it would need to be, and of whom they could buy it the cheapest. I told them I wanted a building large enough to accommodate 150 pupils.

"We are to have another meeting next week on Tuesday night, when this committee are to report.

"I shall have a meeting of all the women in Pocahontas some night next week. I think they will do almost as much as the men. I would like a new building, still if I could have the one at City Point I would be content. I suppose it would not cost quite as much to get it here and put it up as would a new one, I presume it could be made to look almost as well."

NORFOLK.

We find much in the following letter from Mrs. H. C. Fisher, Principal of our schools at Norfolk, that will well repay perusal:

"Norfolk, Va., March 26th.

"Nothing can compare with it—our success—we have two sets of scholars, children and adults; the adults have to be instructed mainly at odd times at their houses, where we can catch them from work, and at the night schools; believing it to be of high importance to teach them, we devote a fair part of our time to them, giving the rest to the children. Our schools, both for adults and children, are so crowded, that each pupil can have but the merest fraction of time given to him or her individually, so small a fraction, indeed, that it would be laughed at in a Northern school, and the constant wonder to me is how they learn anything; and the wonder has ample chance for growth, for in a very varied experience of teaching, both advanced and primary scholars, both at the East and West, I have never seen children with ten times the opportunity learn so fast as these children do.

* * * * * * *

"I tell you—and would that I could stamp it as indelibly on every other brain as it is impressed on mine—*educate* these people; educate them in every sense, and that right speedily, or they will be like a millstone hanged about our necks.

"This rising generation, remember, is engrafted with the worst as well as the best (?) blood of the South; these children are the legitimate inheritors of the bad passions, the malevolent, the vicious tendencies of a people of whose humanity we have no cause to think highly. To counteract this remains the naturally loving, reverent African instinct, the quick perception, the impressible emotional nature. Brought from such iron bondage to a freedom that their terrible ignorance does not know how to improve aright, this quick, ardent nature will go wrong if it is not taught rightly; this immensely fertile soil will grow weeds if it is not seeded down at once with profitable grain.

"To return to facts.

"The severest punishment I could bestow I have found to be that of refusing to hear a lesson. You know we have to teach everything, and I have much difficulty in checking the disposition to tyrannize over the weak. Last week, for an act of perverse unkindness from one boy to another, I refused to hear the offender's lesson until he had made amends. It was a bitter dose, and he held out until after school had been dismissed and I had reached home; but he came to me there, humble and repentant, having made the amends I had required, bringing his book (a geography). His 'please, ma'am, hear my lesson,' was so wistful, so almost piteous, that I could not resist it.

"We charge our night scholars five cents per week to pay for lights, etc. Both day and night scholars pay generally for their books, which, as they advance, cost them considerable. If we succeed here in getting pay for books, we think we do well. There is no trouble about their valuing instruction; we don't have that difficulty to encounter. They seem ambitious, too, to pay for their books, and save perseveringly to that end.

"IS ANDREW JOHNSON A FALLEN SPIRIT?"

The extract below is from a speech made in the Senate on the 18th and 19th of December, 1860. With a record like this, and at so fearful a period as was June, 1864, in the history of the country, the Republican party went to such a State as Tennessee and elected such a man as the author of these sentiments and placed him where the bullet of an assassin made him, the said Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, and the successor of that same Abraham Lincoln whom he meant "*to put down*," and whose "*advances on the Southern institutions*" he meant "*to drive back.*" Let the party look on this work of its hands and remember that it was performed with open eyes and with solemn protests against it on every hand.

> How has Lincoln been elected, and upon what basis does he stand? A minority President by nearly a million of votes; but had the election taken place upon the plan proposed in my amendment of the Constitution, by districts, he would have been this day defeated. But it has been done according to the Constitution, and according to law. I am for abiding by the Constitution; and in abiding by it I want to maintain and retain my place here, and *put down Mr. Lincoln and drive back his advances upon Southern institutions, if he designs to make any. Have we not got the breaks in our hands? Have we not got the power? We have.* Let South Carolina send her Senators back; let all the Senators come; and on the fourth of March next we shall have a majority of six in this body *against him.* This *successful sectional candidate*, who is in a minority of a million, or nearly so, on the popular vote, cannot make his Cabinet on the fourth of March next, unless this Senate *will permit him.* Am I to be so great a coward as to retreat from *duty?* I will stand here and meet the encroachments upon the institutions of my country at the threshold; and as a man, as one that loves my country and my constituents, I will stand here and resist all encroachments and advances. Here is the place to stand. Shall I desert the citadel, and let the *enemy come and take possession?* No. Can Mr. Lincoln send a foreign minister, or even a consul, abroad, unless he receives the sanction of the Senate? Can he appoint a postmaster whose salary is over a thousand dollars a year without the consent of the Senate? Shall we desert our posts, shrink from our responsibilities, and permit Mr. Lincoln to come with his *cohorts, as we consider them, from the North*, to carry off everything? Are we so cowardly that now that *we are defeated, not conquered*, we shall do this? Yes, we are defeated according to the forms of law and the Constitution; but the *real victory is ours—the moral force is with us.* Are we going to desert that *noble and that patriotic band which have stood by us at the North; who have stood by us upon principle*, and upon the Constitution? They stood by us and fought the matter upon principle; and now that we have been defeated, not conquered, are we to turn our backs upon them and leave them to their fate? *I, for one, will not. I intend to stand by them.* How many votes did he get in the North? We got more votes in the North against Lincoln than the entire Southern States cast. *Are they not able and faithful allies? They are; and now, on account of this temporary defeat, are we to turn our backs upon them and leave them to their fate.*
>
> We find, when all the North is summed up, that Mr. Lincoln's majority there is only about two hundred thousand on the popular vote; and when that is added to the other vote cast throughout the Union, he stands to-day in a minority of nearly a million votes. What, then, is necessary to be done? To stand to our posts like men, and act upon principle—stand for the country, *and in four years from this day, Lincoln and his Administration will be turned out, the worst defeated and broken-down party that ever came into power. It is an inevitable result from the* COMBINATION *of elements that now exist.*
>
> I voted against him; I spoke against him; I spent my money to defeat him; but still I love my country.

REPUBLICAN POLICY.

"My Policy" has long been before us; and now we have also the Congressional policy. The anxiety of the times asks: "Which is the best policy?" and the wisdom of ages answers, as it ever answered: "Honesty!" What is "honesty?" It is not only meaning to do right, but daring to do it, and *doing* it, sternly, inflexibly—come what may. It is candor in willing, consistency in executing, and courage in standing by the consequences.

Is this the policy of that Republican Congress in whom the hope of the nation is said to rest?

Let a Republican "in whom there is no guile,"—one untainted by aught of Pro-Slavery virus or by the pride of the skin, answer.

A colored citizen, according to his own testimony, a citizen of New York since years, by virtue of a piece of "free-soil," at $250 taxed, and a citizen of these United States since some days, by virtue of the Civil Rights' Act,—withal a Republican, never an Abolitionist, and one habitually speaking of "the slaves" and "the freedmen" as a class from him distinct and separate—but still, be it remembered, a *colored* citizen, said to us: "The Reconstruction Committee is right; they have proposed all that can be got out of the people this year. It is ESSENTIAL that *this party be in power* during the next years; and to ask more for the freedmen would be losing the Fall elections."

There is the evidence of an unimpeachable Republican—one who cannot be accused of any leaning toward sham Democracy—that the main aim and end of that long-matured Republican "policy" is to *save the Republican party*, and to *pray* for the "freedmen."

Is this the mission of the party which has by Senator Wilson been declared "ever devoted to the rights of struggling humanity?" To live, though the liberty of a half emancipated race die? If this be indeed, as it seems, the mission of the "party of liberty," then we know of nothing more "essential" than to hurl it, as rapidly as may be, from the trust it abuses and the station it disgraces.

But, by sacrificing principle, is even expediency gained? Look at the records of 1854 and of 1860 for the doom of all time-serving parties.

Yet away with expediency! Republicans who deserve the name can desire their success, through a passing cloud of wrong, *only* that the full sunshine of right may thereafter shine forth with brighter radiance. Have the good men who desire this never learned that the old Whig party was originally immaculate, that even that "mother of harlots," the "Democratic" party, came into the world a sinless babe? Have they forgotten that it was the Slave Power which lent its serpentine charms, promising omniscience and immortality at the price of innocence; thus befouling the virgin purity of those children of hope, until no service was too contemptible, no crime too execrable, in the interest of that giant iniquity? And do they not remember by which magic rhyme of persuasion this was done, and by which shibboleth the evil sprites of our destiny knew each other and deceived the hearts of men? It is a formula not exhumed from Arabic palimpsest, nor mentioned in Talmud, Koran, or Vedda. "Familiar as household words"—it yet bears a terrible sound to every true lover of his country: *Compromise*—that curse of our history, that rot in our veins since we live—is again invoked to make us taste the forbidden fruit!

Insidious as have been the advances of the labor-owning principle in the past, they are not less so now. We are invited to stand by, just for a little, and let Satan reap the harvest, while we garner the ungodly fruit for a later sacrifice to the Lord of Truth. And our fate will be as the fate of those mammon-servers and mammon-fearers that went before. "Easy is the descent to Hell"—so easy, indeed, that its declivity is never perceived until the fatal course has been partly run; but at the threshold stands a warning-post, inscribed with flaming letters, so "that he who runs may read;" "Compromise." But few interpret correctly, that this means, Destruction.

Let all beware! Compromises are only *proposed* in legislative chambers, and *consummated* at the ballot-box! Congress goes to the people with a declaration of mistrust; it says, "I would do right, but I know you will not sustain me therein; hence I do wrong." What will the people answer? If their virtue is better than that of their law-makers, they will say, "Take thee from me, unclean spirit!" and will refuse to sustain Congress in its wrong-doing. If they, however, accept the left-handed compliment tendered them by the Republican party, they will thereby indorse and sanction the wrong. They will, by each vote cast in favor of that party, say: "We approve of your compromise, and wish you to abide by it." Thus the way of grace will be barred to the ruling party by their own action; and, in being sustained by the people in their "half-loaf" policy, they will find the strongest argument for withholding the other half forever.

Public opinion is yet liquid. Before it crystalizes out of the heat of the ordeal just passed, it may be brought forward yet. But this cannot be done by its leaders stopping half-way. If these allow the mortar to set in the ill-built edifice, they have themselves to blame if thereafter they may be unable to correct the solidified error.

G.

BOOK NOTICES.

We are indebted to Messrs. Ticknor and Fields, Boston, for favors as follows: "Fifteen Days, or Extracts from Edward Colvil's Journal," a most readable book of 300 pages. Its title, "Fifteen days," tells nothing for its subject, character, or quality; or whether it is in poetry or prose, is ancient or modern, foreign or domestic. This is not well. The Comic Almanac once had a picture of a book-store, and a young lady asking over the counter, "Have you Hogg's Tales?" The same question in a butcher's stall would have sounded just the same; but the places suggest the meanings. Fifteen Days can tell nothing, standing alone. The book, however, treats of slavery, and from a somewhat novel standpoint; a book of pictures it seems, is well written, and daintily dressed outside; but may not be so useful as when the world more needed light. "Another morn," even, "risen on midnoon," would not much mend such a May Day as this.

Another work by Sidney Andrews, and entitled "The South Since the War, as shown by Travel and Observation in Georgia and the Carolinas," comes also from Ticknor and Fields. An Introductory Note by the author reads thus:

> I spent the months of September, October, and November, 1865, in the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, as the correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser* and the Chicago *Tribune*, and a considerable portion of the matter of this book has appeared in letters to one or the other of those papers.

The letters of Mr. Andrews were widely copied from the papers named in the note, and were probably more extensively read than almost any other correspondence of the kind; and a better recommendation than that, no book need desire. We agree with a cotemporary that it treats of topics on which it is of the utmost importance that all should be informed. And aside from the interest that pertains to its subject, Mr. Andrews is a very graphic and spirited writer. He sketches men and events with freedom and freshness of style, and there is much of the picturesque element in his narrative. No traveller in the South, since the days of Olmstead, has given so vivid and life-like an account of that region, and his book is sure to prove a companion for the people, as well as an authority for the statesman.

We have also from Ticknor and Fields *Our Young Folks* and the *Atlantic Monthly* for May. The latter pronounced by best judges, of greater attraction than usual. Hosea Bigelow has again come to the rescue of his country, and in March meeting made a speech of length, breadth and thickness. Mrs. Stowe and Miss Frances Power Cobb are also among the contributors.

The Christian Examiner.—New York, James Miller, 252 Broadway. Boston, Walker, Fuller & Co. Table of Contents for May:—The Unitarian Movement; Tischendorf's Plea for the Genuineness of the Gospels, by

F. H. Hedge; State University of Michigan, by C. H. Brigham; Francis William Newman, by J. W. Chadwick; Bushnell on Vicarious Sacrifice, by J. F. Clarke; An American in the Cathedrals of Europe, by W. R. Alger; Edward Brooks Hall; A Political Note; Review of Current Literature.

PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL.—The May number is unusually attractive. It contains full and interesting sketches (with portraits) of Frederick Douglass and Theodore Tilton, besides more than its ordinary amount of useful and entertaining matter.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, April 30th, 1866.

A CERTAIN class of our population—unfortunately a large, wealthy and powerful class—have lately been playing the part of the dog in the manger, trying to prevent other people from riding in the Sunday horse cars, because *they* don't wish to ride in them. The movements in question have been correctly characterized by a member of our daily press as "pharisaic selfishness, narrow-minded bigotry, and zeal for impertinent guardianship of other people's habits." Unfortunately, again, most of the periodical press encourage this movement, either by speech or silence. The latter agency is more effective than one would at first suppose; yet it is easy to see that, if the great representatives of bigotry upon this subject, the pulpit and the weekly papers that call themselves "religious," claim a stoppage of the Sunday cars as a duty to God and a benefit to the community, and the daily press refuse to publish an exposure of the falsehoods and sophistries contained in their plea, the dog in the manger gains, for the time, a very important advantage. There is, however, not the least probability that the interests of the railroad companies and the public will be sacrificed to this dog in Boston, bark he never so furiously. The benefit of the Sunday cars is so great to so very large a proportion of the people, both of Boston and of the cities and towns around it, that there is no danger of successful interference with them.

The custom, by one class in the community, of undertaking impertinent guardianship of the habits of another class is vexatious enough even when conducted without falsehood or calumny; but, in the case above referred to, falsehood and calumny are the very instruments used to accomplish the object. It is impudently asserted that the Sunday horse-cars are a violation, and that the drivers and passengers are violators, of *God's* laws, and of laws recorded *in the Bible*. Utterly unfounded as are both these pretences, they have been unblushingly made by various persons before the Committee of our Legislature to whom the petitions against Sunday horse-cars have been referred. The persons who make these pretences invariably refer to the 4th commandment of the Hebrew decalogue as their authority, and talk as if they accepted it as the rule of their own conduct; whereas, in actual life, no one of them ever obeyed that commandment at all, in any manner or degree, or ever intends to. It is a notorious fact, that these people do *not* discontinue labor and business on Saturday, the seventh day of the week, as the 4th commandment enjoins; and it is equally manifest to men who will use their eyes and their reason that a commandment having this purport and no other does *not* interfere with the employments of Sunday, the *first* day of the week.

Conspicuous among the Sabbatarians who have been using these pretences is a Mr. Field Fowler, who combined with them the attempt to show that the Metropolitan Company were losing money by running their cars on Sundays. When we consider the facts that the Company commenced this movement not of their own motion but through the representation of many citizens that such accommodation was desired and needed by the public, and that their cars have been as well filled on Sundays ever since as on any other day of the week, the statement about pecuniary loss appears intensely improbable. But we need not take the trouble to examine Mr. Field Fowler's financial figuring. The thorough disregard of truth he has shown in the other branch of the subject makes cross-examination unnecessary in this branch. A man who will tell one lie will tell a hundred. Nevertheless, his results will be taken up by his Sabbatarian colleagues and paraded as if they were true; and the speech which he read before the Committee has been printed in full (a column of close type) in the *Morning Post*, where no refutation of its falsehoods is allowed to appear unless paid for as an advertisement, *as the speech was.*

Since the persons who have been getting up these false pretences against the Sunday cars belong to the same class with the manufacturers of the Boston revival, and since this enterprise is pursued by the same methods, it seems appropriate to speak of it next in order. Since the increase of active labors among the clergy, the deacons and the church-members, of which I told you in my last, there has been a moderate increase of the desired results, though the latter still remain in but small proportion to the former. The labors, however, continue unabated, and more results will of course appear. Among these labors I noticed yesterday (Sunday) a profuse distribution of tracts, bearing the imprint of the pro-slavery "American Tract Society," among the walkers on the common. This reminds me to say that I have recently seen two or three colored people at the revival meetings in Park street church and vestry. This at first surprised me, but I immediately remembered that the famous vote, adopted after prolonged discussion through several regular "church-meetings" at Park street, each opened and closed with prayer, did not contemplate an exclusion of colored people from casual attendance there (especially during a revival), but only from the possession of pews by purchase or hire.

It seems very strange that, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, people as intelligent as those of Boston should still be followers of clergymen who pray to a locomotive god, a being who, assumed to be "dwelling" in a particular place, is constantly petitioned to *come* here, and to *go* there, according to the exigencies of business. This idea is constantly suggested by the whole strain of the prayers made at our revival meetings. Thus, in one of these meetings conducted by Reverends Kirk and Earle, the latter after fervently entreating that the Lord would "come" to Park street, added, in reference to a request for prayer that had been made—"and, O Lord God, go over even into Chelsea, and meet that young man." The petitioner seemed candidly to recognize the distance as an objection, and yet to urge that, in spite of it, the request might be complied with. How long will it be before Christianity will drive these miserable superstitions from the popular mind? When will men learn that God is here just as much as in heaven? that He is never absent from any place, even a revival meeting? that He loves mankind instead of hating them? and that His administration is and will ever be a blessing instead of an evil to every one of them? The clergy of the popular faith, however, are doing all they can to confirm the erroneous notions generally prevalent; and Squire Durant, one of the new revival exhorters in South-side Adams's church, seriously told his audience—"The existence of God is a dreadful reality!"

In the absence of Rev. David A. Wasson, pastor of the 28th Congregational Society of Boston, his people had the high gratification of hearing a discourse yesterday from Wendell Phillips. Wishing, he said, to follow, the custom commenced by Theodore Parker of making his teachings practical, and directing his audience to the duty of the hour, he asked their attention to some thoughts on Capital Punishment.

What explanation, what excuse was there, Mr. Phillips asked for the fact that the population of Massachusetts, a million of healthy and prosperous men and women, devoted a day, not long since, to the work of strangling a weak and helpless boy. They turn, for their excuse, to the first pages of the Bible, and quote from that place the law given to an ancient and half-savage people—"Blood for blood." The Jew had no prisons. He knew no penalty but death, or stripes, or fines, and his penalty of death was inflicted in a brutal and horrible manner, a repetition of which would outrage all the Christian sentiments and moral sensibilities. The death penalties of the Old Testament code were numerous, and the manner of inflicting them prescribed by the same law was cruel. If out of twenty cases covered by this code we throw out nineteen, how can we affect to feel bound by it? It is hypocrisy to do so.

Mr. Phillips proceeded with great ability to show the baseless character of the additional pretences, first, that the murderer is not fit to live, and next, that we need his death as a warning and terror to other evil doers. Not only have we no right to grind up a living man as material for a supposed benefit to his survivors, but experience shows us that a public execution plants a crop of murders. Evil doers and evil deeds abound in the vicinity of the gibbet. Christianity and civilization alike reject the "example" theory.

Since man is a social being, said Mr. Phillips, society has duties towards him as well as rights against him. When it deals with an offender below the average of intelligence (like the man lately hung, and the majority of those who are hung), it punishes its own short comings in him. The trial of the ignorant criminal is the conviction of society.

Capital punishment is beastly impatience, the same that makes a herd of wild horses kick their sick brother to death. It is the impatience of ignorance, seizing upon the *short* method to get rid of the care and trouble involved in the *right* method. Our laws do not threaten drunkenness with death, and yet the man who murders when drunk is hanged for being drunk, and for nothing else. Before passing such a sentence, society should shut up its grog-shops.

Gov. Andrew, said Mr. Phillips, sacrificed himself to the dictates of humanity and justice by refusing to hang Green. He was finally hanged because the officials in authority were too weak to withstand a mistaken public opinion. The gibbet has now become the stepping-stone of political ambition. The history of Massachusetts for the last twenty years will show that men have been pardoned and men have been hanged because the occupants of the Council-chamber have looked outside of the case for motives, instead of inside it. The refusal of Gov. Andrew to hang Green, after the thorough examination which his legal skill enabled him to make of the case, and his persistence in that refusal for fifteen months, were good grounds for that exercise of forbearance on the part of his successor, that throwing of any existing doubt in favor of the accused, which mercy claims, and justice allows. The facts in this case came nearer to proving murder with malice aforethought against Gov. Bullock than against Edward Green.

Mr. Phillips ended by saying—No State which acts on the principle of universal suffrage, has a *right* to a gibbet.

NORTH.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, April 30th, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

IT would be interesting to know how many members of the Republican organization are more deeply concerned for the interests of their party, than for the establishment of just principles. No doubt a large number feel in their hearts a stronger devotion to the former than the latter, and would prove it in their action. Their adherence to principle is modified by the practical effect thereof upon the welfare of their party, and in the pursuit of any course involving the sacrifice of either, they would show a secondary regard for principle. Manifest as they may an attachment to that which is right concerning politics and government, they would rather evince an inharmony between word and deed, than imperil the ascendency of their organization. To jeopard its life would be a more serious occurrence to them than to go half-way to meet and embrace political injustice. However outspoken or emphatic may be their acknowledgment of the rightfulness of the negro's claims to equality, that claim would suffer eclipse before the prospect of party detriment through its advocacy.

We all know how many voices pledge approval of negro suffrage. But how many are there who would be willing to risk that as the basis of a contest at the polls? How many congressmen are there, ready though they be to efface distinctions in the excluded States, who would proclaim at home a corresponding policy, and engage their party to the support of an indiscriminating franchise? Wed this principle to the popular conviction, graft it upon the great heart of the public, secure its approbation in the minds of the populace, guarantee its triumph without hazard to party strength, and thousands will flock to its support on any plane, unabashed by their tardy action, and willing to receive the credit due to pioneers. Why is it that so many see the right, yet refuse it practical sanction? Why do men behold justice with indifferent gaze, at the same time affiliating with injustice, conscious of the fact? Are they insensible of their culpability? Strange it is that so many thus trifle with sacred principles, crown with delay their promises to appealing humanity, and treat the rights of mankind with scornful indifference!

Here in Pennsylvania we have a Constitution that is an insult to our colored population. The word "white" is offensively inserted, and there it will remain, perhaps, as long as so many of our people are such selfish, driveling politicians. Such a meritorious attempt as that of its removal by the Republican party would seriously impair its cohesive property, and as it is not yet ready to make a sacrifice in behalf of such a noble object, the effort will not be made. But the people are looking in the right direction, and thinking more and more in reference to that and kindred matters; so we must be patient. By and by their utterance will be up to their best thought, and their action equal to their utterance. Men grow wiser slowly. Justice remains long a candidate for recognition, waiting patiently the grant of her authority, neither cast down by disappointment, nor losing hope by rejection. Here prejudice still bears intolerant sway towards colored people, depriving them of rights daily and hourly enjoyed by the meanest among the other complexion; and it is marvellous to note the strange unconcern obvious on every hand in relation to this one shameful, palpable and perpetual wrong. Prejudice joins with selfishness, equally absurd and blameworthy, in monopolizing the privilege of travelling in the popular way, and the evil seems fairly to rejoice in its safe prerogative and unmolested empire.

Alas! that word "white," the petty incarnation of a despotic spirit, the mean symbol of an assumed superiority, the wretched advertisement hung out in supercillious tyranny to publish a disparity, seems to be incorporated in the very constitution of society. What a work remains to be accomplished before the community will become permeated with the divine essence of justice, illumining the ways of men as the sunlight fills the air. How beautiful it will be when the right everywhere prevails. How sublime will be that commonwealth where all will give and all enjoy the precious immunities to which human nature is entitled, where power will offend by no abuse, and where weakness will be a stranger to the thongs of injustice. Who can say there is no duty for each? Hope is good, keeping the mind alive and buoyant; faith is a worthy element, inspiring the purpose; but better is action, steadfast and untiring, courting no repose, woven with vigilance into holy aims, and resolved that the noble end shall be accomplished.

O.

REMINGTON REVOLVER.—See its advertisement. We have seen a hawk killed in a farmer's orchard with the navy size at a hundred and thirty-three yards; pretty good shot for a full sized rifle. If we are to be soldiers, government has done well to adopt the Remington weapons; but these pistols are good hunting apparatus also.

HEADLEY'S HISTORY (see advertisement) is declared to be all that is promised. It has not yet come to hand, and so our testimony need not to be taken.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN GERMANY.—A correspondent of the New York *Herald*, writing from Berlin, says: "Count Bismark appears destined to give the lie to the time-honored apothegm that there is nothing new under the sun. The most despotic minister of our age; the favorite of a king, who acknowledges no other right but the right divine of monarchs to do wrong; the head of the feudal party; the spoilt child of the *Kreuz Zeitung*, which has been fighting for eighteen long years against the atheistical and anarchical ideas of universal suffrage, has actually introduced a motion in the Frankfort Diet to call an assembly, *chosen by direct election and by the votes of the whole German nation*, for the purpose of receiving and discussing the proposals of the governments on a thorough reform of the federal constitution. No wonder that so extraordinary a move has taken the public by surprise, and that every one asks himself whether it is really brought in *bona fide*, or whether Bismark is trying to escape from the *cul de sac* into which he has got himself, under cover of a political phantasmagoria, which will serve to mark his retreat.

A HEATHEN'S DEFINITION.—Dr. Livingstone once asked a Bechuana what he understood by the word "holiness." He answered: "When copious showers have descended during the night, and all the earth and leaves and cattle are washed clean, and the sun rising shows a drop of dew on every blade of grass, and the air breathes fresh—that is holiness."

CONGRESS.

SENATE.—On Tuesday Mr. Trumbull presented the petition of 146 citizens of Staunton, Va., representing that the troops have recently been withdrawn from that place; that the Union men are being persecuted by rebels, and praying for the return of the troops for the protection of loyal men.

The petition was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

HOUSE.—In the House of Rrepresentatives Mr. Johnson (Md.) read the following letter from Gen. Wade Hampton on the subject of Columbia, S. C.:

WILD WOODS, Miss., April 21, 1866.

To the Hon. REVERDY JOHNSON, *U. S. Senate.*

SIR: A few days ago I saw in the published proceedings of Congress that a petition from Benjamin Rawles of Columbia, S. C., asking compensation for the destruction of his house by the Federal army in February, 1865, had been presented to the Senate, accompanied by a letter from Maj.-Gen. Sherman.

In this letter Gen. Sherman uses the following language:

"The citizens of Columbia set fire to thousands of bales of cotton rolled out into the streets, and which were burning before we entered Columbia. I, myself, was in the city as early as 9 o'clock, and I saw these fires, and knew that efforts were made to extinguish them, but a high and strong wind kept them alive.

"I gave no orders for the burning of your city, but on the contrary the conflagration resulted from the great imprudence of cutting the cotton bales, whereby the contents were spread to the wind, so that it became an impossibility to arrest the fire.

"I saw in your Columbia newspaper the printed order of Gen. Wade Hampton, that on the approach of the Yankee army all the cotton should thus be burned, and from what I saw, myself, I have no hesitation in saying that he was the cause of the destruction of your city."

This same charge, made against me by Gen. Sherman, having been brought before the Senate of the United States, I am naturally most solicitous to vindicate myself before the same tribunal. But my State has no representation in that body. Those who should be her constitutional representatives and exponents there are debarred the right of entrance into those halls. There are none who have the right to speak for the South; none to participate in the legislation which governs her; none to impose the taxes she is called upon to pay, and none to vindicate her sons from misrepresentation, injustice or slander. Under these circumstances, I appeal to you, in the confident hope that you will use every effort to see that justice is done in this matter.

I deny emphatically that any cotton was fired in Columbia by my order.

I deny that the citizens "set fire to thousands of bales rolled out into the streets."

I deny that any cotton was on fire when the Federal troops entered the city.

I most respectfully ask of Congress to appoint a committee charged with the duty of ascertaining and reporting all the facts connected with the destruction of Columbia, and thus fix upon the proper author of that enormous crime the infamy he richly deserves.

I am willing to submit the case to any honest tribunal. Before any man I pledge myself to prove that I gave a positive order, by direction of Gen. Beauregard, that no cotton should be fired; that not one bale was on fire when Gen. Sherman's troops took possession of the City; that he promised protection to the city, and that in spite of his solemn promise he burned the city to the ground, deliberately, systematically, and atrociously.

I, therefore, most earnestly request that Congress may take prompt and efficient measures to investigate this matter fully. Not only is this due to themselves and to the reputation of the United States army, but also to justice and to truth.

Trusting that you will pardon me for troubling you, I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WADE HAMPTON.

Mr. Sherman (Ohio) said he could not allow this charge of this most impudent Rebel against the whole army to be entered upon the records without some answer. The charge of Gen. Sherman in relation to the burning of Columbia was in an official report, and was fully sustained by reports of other officers. Gen. Sherman did not charge that Wade Hampton gave an explicit order on the subject, but simply that his previous order in relation to the burning of cotton, etc., led to that result. Mr. Sherman read from various official reports to confirm the charge against Gen. Hampton.

Mr. Fessenden (Me.) objected to the practice of taking up the time of the Senate in reading letters addressed not to the Senate but to individual Senators, and especially in matters pertaining to private controversies between persons not members of the Senate.

Mr. Johnson moved the reference of Gen. Hampton's letter to the Committee on Military Affairs, or he was willing to have it lie on the table.

Mr. Fessenden hoped that it would not be referred or ordered to lie on the table, but that the Senate would refuse to receive it.

Mr. Conness (Cal.) said that a man who would attempt to destroy the government of the United States would certainly not hesitate to burn a city. He hoped that the letter of Wade Hampton would not be received or considered at all by the Senate.

Mr. Johnson then withdrew the letter of Gen. Hampton.

Mr. Boutwell (Mass.) sent to the Clerk's desk an amendment which he proposed to offer to one of the bills reported yesterday by the Committee on Reconstruction, and which was ordered to be printed. It provides that whenever the proposed Constitutional amendment shall have become part of the Constitution, and Tennessee or Arkansas shall have ratified the same, and shall have modified their constitutions and laws in conformity therewith, and shall have established an equal and just system of suffrage for all male citizens within their jurisdiction who are not less than 21 years of age, the Senators and Representatives from such States, if found duly elected and qualified, may, after having taken the required oath of office, be admitted into Congress as such; provided, that nothing in the section contained shall be so construed as to require the disfranchisement of any loyal person who is entitled to vote.

Mr. Bingham (Ohio) also sent up a substitute which he proposed to offer for the bill and which was also ordered to be printed.

It provides that whenever any State lately in insurrection shall have ratified in good faith and irrevocably the above recited amendment, and shall have modified its Constitution and laws in conformity therewith, the Senators and Representatives from such State, if found duly elected and qualified, may, after having taken the oaths of office required by law, be admitted into Congress as such.

The House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, Mr. Donnelly in the Chair. On the special order, which was the bill making appropriations for the uses of the Board of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, for the fiscal year commencing Jan. 1, 1866.

Mr. Blaine (Me.) inquired as to the item of $3,000,000, for sites for school-houses and asylums.

Mr. Stevens replied, that the words "and buildings" had been accidentally omitted. He moved to amend, by making it read "For sites and buildings for school-houses and asylums." The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. Stevens also moved to amend, by reducing the amount to two millions. This amendment gave rise to considerable debate.

Mr. Eliot (Chairman of the Committee on Freedmen) explained at considerable length the circumstances under which the appropriation became necessary.

Mr. Ross moved to lay the bill on the table.

The motion was negatived by a vote of 27 yeas to 91 nays.

Mr. Morrill (Vt.) suggested that the bill should go on for a day or two, in order that it might be better understood by the House.

Mr. Stevens replied that he had supposed every gentleman who felt any interest in the thing knew all about it.

Mr. Kasson (Iowa) gave it as his impression that the bill was based upon facts different from those that now existed.

Mr. Washburne (Ill.) suggested its reference to the Committee on Freedmen.

Mr. Niblack (Ind.) inquired how the titles to the school houses were to be taken?

Mr. Eliot replied that they were to be taken in the name of the United States.

Mr. Niblack inquired whether this was to be permanent or a temporary affair?

Mr. Eliot replied that it must necessarily be temporary. The school-houses heretofore used for colored children had been buildings taken from the rebels, deserted school-houses and buildings that could be made available as such. These buildings were being taken back from the possession of the Bureau, and returned to the owners. The time had come when 125,000 children, white and black, would be turned out of these school buildings unless the government interposed.

Mr. Chanler demanded of Mr. Eliot what authority he could show for having white children in the South educated by the Freedmen's Bureau.

Mr. Eliot replied that in conducting the affairs of the Bureau, education had been given to the children of refugees as well as to the children of freedmen.

Mr. Eldridge (Wis.) inquired then whether it was a fact that white and colored children were now being educated together under the Freedmen's Bureau.

Mr. Eliot said that he did not know, but that he supposed the shades of color ran together so that sometimes they could not distinguish between white and colored. The gentleman must inquire from his Democratic friends how this happened to be so.

Mr. Eldridge said he understood the gentleman from Massachusetts to be the father of the Freedmen's Bureau bill.

Mr. Eliot regarded the Freedmen's Bureau as a very good child, and was not ashamed of the offspring.

Mr. Chanler understood Mr. Eliot to have said that school-houses had been taken from white children for the education of colored children.

Mr. Eliot denied stating it in that way.

Mr. Chanler—No, sir, not in that way; but that is the fact. That is the whole of the position as I understand it, taking away the verbiage in which the statement was clothed.

Mr. Eliot—Then the gentleman does not understand it at all.

Mr. Chanler—Of course not. It is impossible to understand a system by which white people are robbed alike of their property and of their system of education, and are to be taxed beside to sustain the Freedmen's Bureau, raised for the purpose of holding the South in subjugation to a political party. It is impossible to understand a system so linked together with infamy under the pretext of philanthropy.

Mr. Ross inquired of Mr. Stevens under what part of the Constitution Congress derived the power to build school-houses and to educate people in the South, taking their (Stevens and Ross's) constituents for it.

Mr. Stevens replied that he derived the power under the law of nations, which is a part of the Constitution, and which enabled Congress to govern conquered provinces. (Laughter.) He modified his amendment by reducing the appropriation for school-houses to $500,000.

The amendment was agreed to, and the bill was passed by 79 yeas to 41 nays.

THE ELEVENTH

NATIONAL WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

THE Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention will be held in the City of New York, at the Church of the Puritans, Union Square, on Thursday, the 10th of May, at 10 o'clock.

Addresses will be delivered by ERNESTINE L. ROSE, FRANCES D. GAGE, WENDELL PHILLIPS, THEODORE TILTON, ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, and (probably) LUCRETIA MOTT and ANNA E. DICKINSON.

Those who tell us the republican idea is a failure, do not see the deep gulf between our broad theory and partial legislation; do not see that our Government for the last century has been but the repetition of the old experiments of class and caste. Hence, the failure is not in the principle but in the lack of virtue on our part to apply it.

The question now is, have we the wisdom and conscience, from the present upheavings of our political system, to reconstruct a government on the one enduring basis that has never yet been tried—EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL."

From the proposed class legislation in Congress, it is evident we have not yet learned wisdom from the experience of the past; for while our representatives at Washington are discussing the right of suffrage for the black man, as the only protection to life, liberty and happiness, they deny that "necessity of citizenship" to woman, by proposing to introduce the word "male" into the Federal Constitution. In securing suffrage but to another shade of *man*hood, while we disfranchise fifteen million tax-payers, we come not one line nearer the republican idea. Can a ballot in the hand of woman, and dignity on her brow, more unsex her than do a sceptre and a crown? Shall an American Congress pay less honor to the daughter of a President than a British Parliament to the daughter of a King? Should not our petitions command as respectful a hearing in a republican Senate, as a speech of Victoria in the House of Lords? Do we not claim that here all men and women are nobles,—all heirs apparent to the throne? The fact that this backward legislation has roused so little thought or protest from the women of the country, but proves what some of our ablest thinkers have already declared, that the greatest barrier to a government of equality, is found in the aristocracy of its women. For while woman holds an ideal position above man in the work of life, poorly imitating the pomp, heraldry and distinctions of an effete European civilization, we as a nation can never realize the divine idea of equality that man in his highest moments has enunciated to the world.

To build a true republic, the church and the home must undergo the same upheaving we now see in the State;—for while our egotism, selfishness, luxury and ease are baptized in the name of him whose life was sacrifice,—while at the family altar we are taught to worship wealth, power and position, rather than humanity, it is vain to talk of a republican government:—The fair fruits of liberty, equality and fraternity must be blighted in the bud, till cherished in the heart of woman.

At this hour the nation needs the highest thought and inspiration of a true womanhood infused into every vein and artery of its life;—and woman needs a broader, deeper education, such as a pure religion and lofty patriotism alone can give. From the baptism of this second revolution, should not woman come forth with new strength and dignity, clothed in all those "rights, privileges and immunities" that shall best enable her to fulfil her highest duties to Humanity, her Country, her Family and Herself?

In behalf of the National Woman's Rights Central Committee,

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, Pres.
SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Sec.

New York (48 Beekman st.,) March 31, 1866.

GOLDEN WEDDING IN CANTERBURY, CT.—Hon. Chauncey Morse and wife celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of their wedding day, March 10th, at the old homestead in Canterbury, Connecticut. Children and grandchildren were there; some, however, only in spirit, for three out of the eleven had passed away. Numerous relatives and friends joined in the festivities of the occasion.

Judge N. B. Morse of Brooklyn, N. Y., brother to Chauncey made a very happy address, which was followed by the singing of an original hymn, written by Mrs. Mortimer Hall, to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne." Then the Hon. P. B. Peck spoke as follows:

"The occasion is festive, yet may be sad. Many changes have taken place in this family during the past fifty years. Some who met in this circle in earlier days have passed to the better life. Their memories are with us this evening. But this is also a day of rejoicing! Father, mother, children, brothers and sisters meet again at the old homestead to exchange friendly greetings and recount life's joys and pleasures. I am, indeed, honored this evening, for I am sure I have the confidence and sympathy of this family, from the fact I am invited to participate in this joyous occasion. Long have I known you and your *better half;* often have I listened to your kind words of cheer, your words of fraternity, of true brotherly love; and can truly say that I am a better man, for having in early life given heed to your counsel." Here Mr. Peck took Judge Morse by the hand and said—"I give you my hand as a token of sympathy and regard, and also as a pledge, that this long intimacy and friendship shall continue until life is no more."

This venerable couple may, with much propriety, sing in the words of the old song,

"Though fools spurn Hymen's gentle powers,
We who improve its golden hours,
By sweet experience know,
That marriage rightly understood
Gives to the tender and the good,
A Paradise below."

The occasion was one of great happiness to the host, hostess and guests. Gifts were presented to the aged couple, in all amounting to two hundred dollars.

C. F. W.

New York, April, 1866.

SUMMARY.

NURSING THEIR PREJUDICES.—The "People's Line," which conveys passengers from Covington, Ky., to Louisville, in the same State, refused, on the 15th inst., to carry a company of United States soldiers to the latter point because they chanced to belong to a colored regiment. When these men were "chattels" there was no difficulty in freighting them.

A WORKMEN'S LEAGUE.—The "Grand Eight Hour League" of Massachusetts are now organizing for a more extended agitation, and the Boston *Voice* claims that the new movement has the sympathy of Rev. Edward Everett Hale, William Lloyd Garrison, Hon. Edward S. Tobey, Dr. Dio Lewis, Charles W. Slack and Wendell Phillips, Esqs., of Boston, and Hon. Gerrit Smith, of New York, and Maj.-Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, of Lowell.

COLORED PEOPLE'S PAPERS.—The Boston *Commonwealth* says: "It may be of interest to some of our readers to know the number of newspapers edited by colored men in the United States. Those of which we have any knowledge are given below. They are: the *Communicator*, published at Baltimore, Md.; *Christian Recorder*, Philadelphia; *Pacific Appeal*, San Francisco, Cal.; *Colored Citizen*, Cincinnati; New Orleans *Tribune*; *Nationalist*, Mobile, Ala.; *Loyal Georgian*, Augusta, Ga.; *Colored Tennesseean*, Nashville, Tenn.

THE Albany *Argus* says that at a recent trial at Auburn, New York, the counsel for the government, after severely cross-examining a witness, suddenly put on a look of severity, and exclaimed: "Mr. Witness, has not an effort been made to induce you to tell a different story?" "A different story from what I have told, sir?" "That is what I mean." "Yes, sir; several persons have tried to get me to tell a different story from what I have told, but they couldn't." "Now, sir, upon your oath, I wish to know who those persons are?" "Wall, I guess you've tried 'bout as hard as any of them."

ARKANSAS FREEDMEN.—Reports received at the Freedmen's Bureau from Arkansas, represent great destitution existing among the poor whites of that State, most of whom are unable to procure the commonest necessaries of life. The Agent of the Bureau says that if the testimony of the County Judges and leading citizens of the different counties were taken, they would make the number in the State who perish from starvation without Government aid between thirty and forty thousand persons; and it is probably true that nearly this number are subsisting upon a very scanty supply of the coarsest and poorest quality of food. During the quarter, the number of rations issued were as exhibited in the following statement: January, 47,836 rations were issued to refugees, and 11,696 to freedmen; February, 84,023 rations to refugees, and 9,817 rations to freedmen; March, 102,204 rations to refugees, and 11,442 rations to freedmen. Beside the rations, large quantities of clothing have been distributed.

MISS HOLLEY.—The Rochester *Express* of Monday last says: Miss Sallie Holley delivered an address last evening at the Unitarian Chapel, in behalf of the Freedmen. Her address was a most feeling one, and her touching allusion to the death and memory of Abraham Lincoln were deeply impressive. The argument was an incontrovertible one, and the defence of the colored race most effective. Her remarks were entirely extempore, and were interspersed with facts and incidents of an interesting nature, but she was obliged to relinquish the subject, being attacked suddenly with faintness, rendering it impossible to continue the discourse, which closed with the following words: "Will you allow the slaveholders of the South and the Copperheads of the North to rule the freemen of the country? Will you permit these poor slaves to be delivered back to their former tyrants? Have Libby Prison, Belle Isle and Andersonville been without their good results? The losses by the crime of rebellion cannot be indemnified by millions of treasure. To save a repetition we must demand security for the future."

A YANKEE DI VERNON.—The following letter written to Captain Fisk and published in the St. Paul (Minn.) *Press*, explains itself:

SPRINGFIELD, Mass, March 28, 1866.

"MY DEAR SIR: I see by a Boston paper that you are to lead, in May next, your fourth expedition overland from Minnesota to Montana. I have a brother out there, a miner, in the 'diggins' called Last Chance. He has written me to join him. If you can speak a word of encouragement, I should prefer to make the trip across the plains under the ægis of your expedition. * * *

"I am a schoolma'am, and have recently come from eight months' teaching in the South. I had the courage to stand out against monsters whom it were praise to call devils; and I'm quite certain that I shall not be afraid of *mere savages*, if such are to be encountered in the journey to the mountains.

"*Minds* as well as *mines* are to be developed out there—so many families I know have gone and are going there. I have means to pay my fare, and to bring a saddle-beast and equipments beside. I can ride with the best, and should it come to that, *can shoot, too.*

"Please to say if I cannot go to Montana with your expedition, just as well as not. Whatever your answer, let it be understood that *I have made up my mind to go with you, any way.*

Very respectfully yours, ——— ———,

"To Captain James L. Fisk, Commanding Expedition to Montana."

THE JAMAICA CLERGY AND THE MASSACRE.—Public opinion in England seems to have united in the judgment that the late massacre in the island of Jamaica was a disgrace to the British name. The London *Times* gives up the idea of conspiracy among the blacks, calls the wholesale slaughter a "massacre," and admits that there was no evidence against Gordon which could justify his execution. Even the *Telegraph* speaks of the flogging of women as "an outrage upon manhood, and an offence against civilization." But the Christian ministers of Jamaica, who ought to be always the friends of the weak and down-trodden, seem to be in full sympathy with the Governor and his cowardly co-murderers. No less than forty English missionaries have signed complimentary and exculpatory addresses to Gov. Eyre, approving his general policy, sympathizing with him under the unjust detraction which he has to suffer, and declaring that the course he pursued "was absolutely necessary to meet the exigencies of the case." Of eight missionaries supported by the old and venerable London Missionary Society, six have signed these addresses. The *Patriot* deals very plainly with the case, and says: "The demoralization of the white population of Jamaica appears to be complete. There is no more signal proof of it than the attitude of so many of the ministers of religion in the island. It must be matter of grave and serious consideration with the directors of the London Missionary Society whether persons who have so largely identified themselves with the authorities who directed the cruel retaliation at Morant Bay, and had no word of pity or intercession for the unhappy negroes, are fit representatives of Christianity, or can any longer preach the Gospel to the black population with hope of success."

American Anti-Slavery Society.

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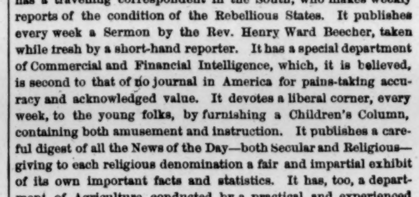

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Miscellaneous Department.

AMONG THE LAURELS.

The sunset's gorgeous dyes
Paled slowly from the skies,
And the clear heaven was waiting for the stars,
As side by side we strayed
Adown a sylvan glade,
And found our pathway crossed by rustic bars.

Beyond the barrier lay
A green and tempting way,
Arched with fair laurel-trees, a-bloom and tall,—
Their cups of tender snow
Touched with a rosy glow,
And warm sweet shadows trembling over all.

The chestnuts sung and sighed,
The solemn oaks replied,
And distant pine-trees crooned in slumberous tones;
While music low and clear
Gushed from the darkness near,
Where a shy brook went tinkling over stones.

Soft mosses, damp and sweet,
Allured our waiting feet,
And brambles veiled their thorns with treacherous bloom;
While tiny flecks of flowers,
Which own no name of ours,
Added their mite of beauty and perfume.

And hark! a hidden bird—
To sudden utterance stirred,
As by a gushing love too great to bear
With voiceless silence long—
Burst into passionate song,
Filling with his sweet trouble all the air.

Then one, whose eager soul
Could brook no slight control,
Said, "Let us thread this pleasant path, dear friend,—
If thus the way can be
So beautiful to see,
How much more beautiful must be the *end*!

"Follow! this solitude
May shrine the haunted wood,
Storied so sweetly in romance and rhyme,—
Secure from human ill,
And rarely peopled still
By Fauns and Dryads of the olden time.

"A spot of hallowed ground
By mortal yet unfound,
Sacred to nymph and sylvan deity,—
Where foiled Apollo glides,
And bashful Daphne hides
Safe in the shelter of her laurel-tree!"

"Forbear!" the other cried—
"O, leave the way untried!
Those joys are sweetest which we only guess,
And the impatient soul,
That seeks to grasp the whole,
Defeats itself by its own eagerness.

"Let us not rudely shake
The dew-drop from the brake
Fringing the borders of this haunted dell;
And the delights which are—
The present and the far—
Lose half their charm by being known too well!

"And he mistakes who tries
To search all mysteries,—
Who leaves no cup undrained, no path untracked;
Who seeks to know too much
Brushes with eager touch
The bloom of fancy from the brier of Fact.

"Keep one fair myth aloof
From the hard and actual proof;
Preserve some dear delusions as they seem,
Since the reality,
How bright soe'er it be,
Shows dull and cold beside our marvellous dream.

Leave this white page unscored,
This rare realm unexplored,
And let dear Fancy roam there as she will;
Whatever page we turn,
However much we learn,
Let there be something left to dream of still!"

Wherefore, for aught we know,
The golden apples grow
In the green vale to which that pathway leads;
The spirits of the wood
Still haunt its solitude,
And Pan sits piping there among the reeds!

—*Atlantic Monthly for May.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE HANGING OF GREEN.

To Alexander H. Bullock, *Governor of Massachusetts:*

Edward W. Green is dead—hanged by your hand in deference to a mistaken public opinion. His execution is the most remarkable in my day, and the least justifiable. For it you are responsible. In vain, after having snatched a responsibility from which the generous course of Gov. Andrew, your predecessor, had, in substance, shielded you—in vain do you attempt to hide yourself behind legal technicalities and the authority of courts. The Constitution of Massachusetts leaves with the Governor and Council the final decision whether a man shall be hanged. Whenever mere law would work injustice, *you* are charged with the duty of seeing that *substantial* justice is done.

In the form which this case finally took, we, the citizens, have nothing to do with courts. The Governor and Council hanged Edward W. Green in a truer sense than any other Governor or Council ever hanged any other man.

It is nothing to us, and no defence to you, that the Chief Justice quibbled away the humane intent of the statute of 1858, setting at nought the usual rules for the construction of statutes, and ignoring wholly the practice of States from which we borrowed the law. Our statute of 1858 is copied from that of States where a jury always decides on the degree of murder. We deplore that Green is the first man hanged without a jury passing on this question of degree, in any State whose statute resembles ours, and that thus judge-made law defies the statute.

We cherish all due respect for the decisions of our Supreme Court, and would not lightly presume to doubt them. But when life and death are in issue, every man is held to plain speech. I cannot but remember that the party with which I have the honor to be associated, has, within twenty years, presumed to doubt more than a dozen opinions of our bench and that of the Union; and in all those cases these courts would now be glad of an opportunity to reverse their decisions, and erase sad blots from their record. I remember also that the time has gone by when our Chief Justiceship was earned by legal learning and brains, and that it is filled now by a man of fortune, merely because, on account of his wealth, he could afford to take an office whose grossly inadequate salary made competent lawyers avoid it.

But this is immaterial now. Your responsibility hides the court. You hanged Green without justifiable cause. Even the poor subterfuge of the unanimous concurrence of your Council is hollow pretence. We saw one-third of their number leave the Council Chamber long before the hearing was ended, impatient of the investigation and unwilling to risk losing the cars even to hear the last petition of a man whose life hung on their judgment. Their assent was mere formal concurrence with your decision. You, *you alone*, hanged Green.

Massachusetts divides murder into two degrees, and punishes it with death only when in the first degree—that is, when committed with deliberately premeditated malice aforethought.

She enacts that "*the degree of murder shall be found by the jury.*" Such also is the *practice* of the States from which we borrow our statute. With this law in view, let us state Green's case.

You had evidence laid before you, uncontradicted evidence, that Green, though trusted with a petty office, had been always incompetent to perform its duties, and relied on help for anything beyond mere routine; that he was, both on his mother's and father's side, descended from families thoroughly tainted with insanity. Medical experts assured you that, though 27 years old, he ought to be classed with boys of 15 or 16 years of age; that he was "*physically, mentally, and morally a dwarf,*" and that he showed no such intellect as ought to make him responsible to the extent of capital punishment; that to hang him would be vindictiveness and not justice

Six clergymen, all of whom had seen him often in prison, some of whom had been his constant visitors during his incarceration, coincided in that opinion. The very magistrate before whom he was first arraigned, expressed the same belief; the jailors concurred; the detectives who arrested him informed you that long before they had completed the case against him, his fellow-citizens hurried on his arrest, alleging that Green was so weak there was no use in waiting for complete proof, since he would be sure to break down and confess, the moment he was charged. The scene at his arrest confirmed this view; both by their conduct in treating him like a mere child, and by his.

No testimony rebutted this. Nothing impeached it.

This dwarf in morals and mind was set before a jury. The only clear, distinct, and abiding idea he had was that he killed Converse, but not deliberately. Left almost alone by the few friends he had, after long solitary confinement, he, with as deliberate purpose as he was capable of, pleaded guilty of murder in the second degree. The Government refuse to accept the plea, and the Court suggests that he retire with his counsel to consult. Here the court erred sadly, grievously. His appearance showed his weakness, and no humane and heedful judge would have allowed any influence to be used to induce him to change his long considered purpose. The scrupulous and delicate action of our bench in its best days forbade it.

Green goes out with his counsel, and after some time, consents to the formal plea of guilty in the first degree; but, as his counsel tells us, he added at the same moment his protest that he did not kill deliberately. To the last hour of his life, he always affirmed that he never intended to plead guilty to deliberate murder.

Now, how stands the case? Here was a moral and mental dwarf born in the hot-bed of insanity, never tried by a jury—convicted, without trial, on a plea which he said, and which the facts show, he never meant to make—a plea which eminent lawyers, among them the highest criminal authority in New England, assert that he never did make in any true legal sense—a plea which his able and honest counsel assures us he never should have advised or allowed Green to make, had he known what you, sir, now know.

Such a man—no, such a dwarf—you hang. History, looking back on a bar of lawyers, many of whom deny that Green was ever legally convicted, must creep through the special pleading of a bench of cunning judges to find how you ever got any legal right to hang him at all.

Green was never tried by a jury. The only trial resembling a jury trial that he ever had, was before Gov. Andrew's Council. That was the first and only body which ever investigated the facts of his case, and one-third of that body advised Gov. Andrew to commute his sentence. It is not unreasonable to presume that the same result would have followed a formal jury trial, and if so, he would have been acquitted of murder in the first degree.

Under a law which holds that every reasonable doubt should acquit the indicted party, and that only a *unanimous* jury can convict him, you hanged a man—no, a boy-dwarf—whose case was never presented before any body of men which was not divided on the question of his guilt.

Under a law which holds that reasonable doubt shall acquit the indicted party, you hanged a man whose death-warrant a magistrate whom your most partial admirer will admit is a far better lawyer and as keenly conscientious a man as yourself—refused for fifteen months to sign. Since Green never had a jury trial, and Gov. Andrew as a magistrate, under a deep sense of official responsibility, had most conscientiously and thoroughly investigated his case, surely the deliberate conviction of such a man might have weighed as "reasonable doubt" in the mind of one not over-anxious to hang a fellow-being!

I do not believe a case can be found in any State of this Union, where a Governor has ordered to execution one whose case his predecessor had thoroughly examined, and refused to sign a death-warrant. Such proceeding violates, in substance, the first rule of the common law, that reasonable doubt saves the party.

You hanged a man whom no jury, knowing what you did the hour you signed his death-warrant, would ever have convicted of murder in the first degree. Tried anywhere in the State the hour you signed his warrant, Green would have been acquitted of capital crime. This you are lawyer enough to know; this three-quarters of the criminal lawyers of the State will tell you.

A dwarf—never tried but to be acquitted—influenced into a plea he never intended to make—one which keen lawyers contend he never did make—a man whom his counsel besought government to spare, because, knowing what he does, he never would have allowed Green to plead guilty—such a one, making your way through all the barriers the generosity of your predecessor had put between you and your victim, you drag to the gibbet. If the humane common law is in force—if the statute of 1858 is law, you alone hanged Green without legal justification. That statute was enacted to shield just such cases. Massachusetts never intended to hang such criminals. Had this been a rich man's son, surrounded with friends, furnished with counsel in ample time to investigate his case, he had never been convicted. Convicted, such a one would have never been hanged.

Poor and friendless, he was thrust suddenly upon counsel unprepared, without time to examine his case, and before a Court which, ignorant as it was of the facts, may be innocent of deliberate offence, but surely by heedlessness and inattention has brought shame on the execution of the law in Massachusetts. Over such a boy, arraigned under a novel statute, there should have been thrown the most delicate and scrupulous safeguards of the law. Certainly, no such careful respect to the purity of its ermine and the humane caution of the law is visible on this occasion.

Mistaken public opinion, fed on false rumors, demanded a victim, and you washed your hands in blood to conciliate the people.

But even this black cloud reveals one spot of its silver lining. The community will learn that so grave and terrible a power as that of life and death should not be trusted where it can ever be used as a counter in the game of political ambition. If our government is such that we cannot sometimes escape as magistrates men who will try to make even the gibbet a stepping-stone to higher place, then it is not safe to continue the use of this murderous punishment. "Show me that human testimony is infallible," said Lafayette, "before I will admit of capital punishment."

Following such an example, we may say, show us that designing men will never use a gibbet as help to political ambition, before we entrust such with this terrible power. Of the heartless George IV. it is recorded that he often stood long before his Chancellor begging him to suggest something that would save him from the cruel necessity of signing a death warrant. You, when facts, science, law, your predecessor, and substantial justice stood ready to shield you, snatched, with calculating ambition, this dread responsibility, and you think that your mountain stands stronger to-day for the outrage. May the justice and self-respect of Massachusetts forbid.

Wendell Phillips.

Love of Beauty in the French.—It is quite certain that unless you go into the very haunts of vice, where misery is born and bred, you will never see any in Paris. The boot-black, from the peculiar nature of his occupation, appears to be on less familiar terms with soap and water than any other of the human family, and in England and America holds his rags and dirt as prerogatives. But the Paris boot-black is always a man; he is always clad in a uniform, generally of blue plush, and any lady might shake hands with him without gloves and without fear. His box is very large, and he carries a camp stool, which supercedes the necessity of balancing on one leg during the process of polishing. When asked what is due them they invariably reply "what you please." The fee is about five cents, but I tried one once with a one cent piece, to see how much sincerity there was in his "what you please." Off came his hat,—down went his bow,—and you might have supposed from his "merci, monsieur," that I had given a franc. The workmen also have a uniform, or rather they all dress alike, with white pants and blue blouses. Instead of our poor tatterdemalions, in fluttering rags of every hue, vests wrong side out, grandfathers' coats on small boys, shocking and overgrown boots, one sees in the French laborers a respectable and really picturesque company. I think there must be some law against rags, for the very beggars wear the same white pants, and blue frocks, cheap and coarse, but decent looking until utterly worn out. The withered women who sell gimcracks at street corners, and even the fat fishmongers in their greasy stalls, look fresh and blooming as possible in their starched white caps and clean calicoes. The very herrings seemed graceful under their touch, though they had arms like Amazons. It was wonderful to see into what a garden the vegetable market could be transformed, merely by the arrangements of carrots and cabbages. Workmen, fishmongers, beggars and all had flowers. It does not seem like real life. You are constantly saying, "this is theatrical," "this is like ideal stage-life where everybody is romantic." "Is it possible that these are real men and women, or is it all a dream that so bewilders me?" Then you walk through the garden of the Tuilleries again, where hundreds of women have brought their knitting and their families to pass the day under the shade of the trees. There the rich and poor children play together, but there is no squabbling, or rolling in the dirt, no screams of delight or of fear. You cannot believe your ears when you hear one small tot say to another, "Ce n'est pas gentil,' and observe the instantaneous effect produced by those five words.—*Correspondence Boston Traveller.*

THINGS THAT ARE WORTH WHILE.

From the Saturday Review.

The question how far what we have done, or are doing, or what comes before us to do, is "worth while," sounds so reasonable and philosophical that one is apt to think those ought to be the wisest persons who ask it oftenest, and act solely by the conclusions arrived at. Yet there is something in it that does not suit human nature, as, on closely inquiring, we observe that it is uniformly answered in one way; and, in fact, it is the one moral hindrance to all exertion, hampering not only questionable activity, but all activity whatever. In the first place, it is a question which is apt to obtrude itself at the moment for action. The letter-box closes, the train leaves, the opportunity passes, the occasion is lost, while one is still deliberating. If a man won't do anything till he can prove to his own satisfaction that it is indisputably worth while, he will not only not do that particular thing, but he will do nothing with a will; doubt clogs even the most inevitable habitual action, and all the mind's ingenuity is expended in reducing necessary exertion to a minimum. When once this humor takes hold of a man's mind, the question comes to be attractive for its own sake; it is speculation in a negative form—a calculation of chances in which risk has its charm. If it is ten to one, or even five to one, against the smallest effort being essential, he spares himself the trouble, not without a relish for the suspense which ensues till the issue is known. Many people give themselves extra and superfluous trouble in making assurance doubly sure; but this man, on the contrary, rather than waste labor and action of any kind in so prodigal a fashion, though it be but the exertion of asking his way, is resigned to an occasional disaster. If only justified by his calculation of chances, if he can prove a balance of probabilities on his side, he does not flinch from the consequences of his system; it was not worth while to act on a remote contingency.

In the case we are here supposing, a natural turn of mind is developed by practice into a defensive principle of inaction; passive inertia backs itself against the bustling precaution with which some men hedge themselves against mischance in the business of life. But this inquiry has a morbid attraction for minds of a very different order. Persons who are busy and energetic enough in their own line are often much too ready with it when things new and unaccustomed are proposed to them. Where the question thus systematically suggest itself, whether to man or boy, he is fixing himself in a groove and quenching the spirit of adventure. In youth, at any rate, there should be that briskness and power of enjoyment which thinks effort to attain it worth while. Not that the question in itself can ever be other than reasonable; but there are occasions when it is not well that it should too readily suggest itself—when the natural love of novelty and experiment should be suffered to play unchecked, when it is better to try and lose than never to try at all, better to make a rush, and encounter difficulty and disappointment, than ever to stand counting chances and balancing pros and cons. That extreme fear of failure, that dread of taking trouble in vain, which may be observed in some young people extending to the merest trifles, is fatal to expansion. A healthy growing mind ought to expect great things from the unknown. All pleasure and all attainment in a new field are indissolubly connected with some form of trial and experiment. "Nothing venture, nothing have."

But, however we may deprecate premature wisdom on this point as moral cowardice, the young philosopher might, if he only knew, retort upon his elder, who, having ventured in youth and perhaps succeeded in his venture, asks himself, in the end, Was it, after all, worth while? There is so much trouble in all work, so much sweat of brow and brain, that the result of success is apt to look little better than slavery. It was an eminently successful poet who exclaimed—

> The unhappy man who once has trailed a pen
> Lives not to please himself but other men.

Self-satisfaction fails the most sanguine at times. And how constantly must this occur where a faint or partial success is the fruit of long labors, as in the case of those amateur artists in different fields who have let slip the easy natural advantages that came to them for the weariness of driving an unready pen. Everybody is born into a place, which he can nurse into something if he sticks by it; was it worth while to desert it for the small rewards and considerations that have come to his share? He may ask the question, though he is perhaps the last man to come at a right answer. The picture we are apt to make to ourselves of what we might have been is of all self-portraits the most flattering and deceptive.

To think things worth while is not only a sign, but a great promoter, of cheerfulness, and, as opposed to giving in, is almost always wise. A Frenchwoman, however plain, thinks it worth while to consult the becoming; and the contrast between downright ugliness studied, alleviated, and made fresh and trim, and the same ugliness abandoned to its fate—as we have the opportunity not seldom of seeing it—is often more effective, as conveying a moral triumph, than that between mere prettiness and its opposite. It is a standing, walking moral—a lesson that things are never so bad but that it is worth while to make the best of them. People's habits in this respect very much depend on the view they take of the present. Now, in one sense, it is quite right to postpone the present to the future, but yet it is one of the commonest of all mistakes to defer the claims of the present to *a* future. This is what misers do, and people who wait for dead men's shoes; as well as discontented persons and dreamers generally. People of alert spirits, whatever their views, think more things worth while than their neighbors. Thus the preacher discourses to his congregation on the transitoriness of life, describes it movingly as a pilgrimage, and proves how little it signifies how we may be entertained by the way; but if he is of a brisk, stirring temperament, we shall find him planning a thousand things for daily comfort and convenience which his hearers who are behind him in the theory of the pilgrim life do not think worth while. Perhaps, though occupying themselves but little with the shortness of life as a whole, their turn of mind is that very uncomfortable one which regards the particular stage through which they are now passing as too short, incomplete, and therefore unimportant, to bestow pains and interest upon. The waiter upon change will put off action till the change comes. Where is the good of reforms, renovations, and fresheners when the time may be so short? We prefer, as a rule, the energetic preacher of this world's vanity, who, though life is short, or because it is short, gives its minutes their due, and encumbers his heirs with no dilapidations. Not but what this may be overdone; for, of course, there is a strong disposition in busy minds to think things worth while that are not. There are undoubtedly seasons and spaces when it is wise to wait—when it is not worth while to commence any undertaking great or small. There are studies which it is not worth a man's while to take up, pursuits which it is not worth while to follow, minutes and half hours which it is not worth while to fill with an occupation. No doubt we have all our peculiar notions on this head. It does not seem to us worth while to read at dinner time, or out of doors, or to set oneself to learn a language in recurring spare moments; these acts come under the same category of virtues with the old housewife's economy of time which makes her sit up in bed to knit stockings in the dark, or re-thread her needle, at infinite expense of time and eyesight, to save an inch of cotton. There are a vast number of small industries that are not worth the while of a man with one settled occupation which engages a fair portion of his time. We have not much faith in the achievements done in odd minutes. We believe there is usually more loss than gain by them, and that manners and conversation both suffer where there is this trick of thinking it worth while to pull out some implement of labor—pen, pencil, or needle—at times when other people are content to seem unemployed, and are only busy in being agreeable and placing themselves at the service of their company. Nothing ministers so much to impatience as these habits. It is an evidence of thorough self-mastery when a man who knows how to use time has the sense to recognise when time is not worth using in any definite, ostensible way. Haydon tells us that Sir Walter Scott, going to see a picture of his on view, arrived before the door was open, but, hearing that the man would not be long, quietly sat down and waited, and thus was found by the delighted artist, who records it as a beautiful trait of this great genius. It was, it fact, not worth while to fill up the short interim; but how few men up in town for a day or two could have kept themselves thus reasonably serene!

We all have our opinions, but in truth no one can judge for another what is worth while. If a man has any one commanding talent, nothing is worth his while that distracts him from it, though it may carry the air of a respectable occupation. Wordsworth did not think it worth his while to read any authors but those who have clothed in words the grand catholic feelings that belong to the grand catholic situations of life, and clothed them in such words that human wit must despair of bettering them; yet it is well worth other people's while to read books of a lower range and of quite another order. People of genius constantly misjudge in this way. They are right in the abstract—right as far as they themselves are concerned, but not right for those they would legislate for. Thus it is very true that the passion for grottos a hundred year ago was absurd. We may wonder at Pope's spending money, time, and ingenuity, on a gloomy hole; but it might still be worth the while of the clever ladies and fine duchesses who threw their soul and fancy into this singular mania; the purposes for which they pursued it were answered. A man of commanding intellect decides for his daughter that it is not worth while to teach her music, for her ear is not perfect; or drawing, for her eye is not exact; or needlework, for that can be paid for, or housekeeping, for that servants can do; or to let her play croquet, for that is waste of time; or read novels, for they are frivolous. In his own case the argument may be perfect, and so it would be in hers if she inherited his mind; but in fact it may be worth her while to do them all. For our part, we hesitate to pronounce against any mania except in the abstract. Bazaars may be worth the while of the people who frequent them and get them up. So may cork models, Berlin wool, and collecting old postage stamps; it all depends upon what people have the opportunities and the native power to do. Certainly protests in such matters are not worth the while of any but original thinkers.

In the discussion of any question of this sort the end must of course be taken for granted. If a man goes twenty times to a ball and enjoys himself intensely when there, we own it to be worth while without entering into the reasonableness or ethics of dancing. If the people who stood the livelong day at the pit door to see Mrs. Siddons act cried to their hearts' content over the tragedy when it came, we must admit that, from their point of view, it was worth while, without deciding on the uses of the drama. In fact, the "worth while" ought not to enter into the sphere of morals. We do not discuss the argument that "it is never worth while to do a shabby thing," or that "it is always worth while to be civil," for these points should be settled on less selfish grounds. Still the mere speculation is a stretch of thought beyond the practice of many people, who as they plan nothing beforehand, meditate on nothing that is past. The question is one that must be asked sometimes if we would go right in matters of pleasure, taste, and interest, and get a knowledge of our real preferences; and a judicious habit of asking it may well train the mind to decide wisely on points infinitely more important.

THE CARAVAN IN THE DESERT.

BY ARMINIUS VAMBERY.

"The *Chil menzili Turkestan*, or the Forty Stations across the desert of Turkestan," I often heard my friends say, "are far more troublesome and much more difficult to get over than the *Chil menzili Arabistan*, or the Forty Stations on the Pilgrims' route from Damascus to Mecca. On this last one finds every day fresh cisterns, which furnish drinkable water for thousands; the pilgrim is sure to get fresh bread, a good dish of pilaw or meat, cool shade, and all the comforts he longs for after the exhausting day's march. But on the former route, man has done nothing for the support of the poor traveller. He is in constant danger of dying from thirst, or being murdered, of being sold as a slave, of being robbed, or of being buried alive under the burning sand-storm. Well-filled water-skins and flour sacks, the best horses and arms, often become useless, and there is nothing left to one but to strive to get forward as fast as possible, while invoking the name of Allah."

The readers of my *Travels in Central Asia* may be supposed to have some idea of the awfully imposing journey from Persia to the Oasis-lands of Turkestan. I may here furnish a few additional particulars about the experience of our caravan. I have several times being blamed for being too concise to be graphic, and this charge, I confess, is not altogether undeserved. I propose here to make up for my faults of omission.

During the first three day's march, the impressive, endless silence of the desert—a silence as of the grave—cast a most powerful spell over my soul. Often did I stare vacantly for hours, my eyes fixed on the distance before me, and, as my companions believed me to be sunk in religious meditations, I was very seldom disturbed. I only half observed how, during the march, certain members of our caravan nodded in sleep on the backs of their camels, and by their ludicrous movements and sudden starts, afforded our company exquisite amusement. Any one overcome with sleep, would lay hold of the high pommel of the saddle with both hands, but this did not prevent him from either, with a forward lurch, knocking his chin with such force that all his teeth chattered, or, by a backward one, threatening to fall with a sommersault to the ground. Indeed this last often happened, arousing the hearty laughter of the whole party. The fallen became the hero of the day, and had to support the most galling fire of jokes on his awkwardness.

The most inexhaustible fountain of cheerfulness was a young Turkoman, named Niyazbirdi, who possessed no less liveliness of spirits than agility of body, and by every word and movement contrived to draw laughter from the most venerable of the Mollahs. Although he was owner of several laden camels, he was, nevertheless, for most part, accustomed to go on foot, and running now right, now left, he alarmed by cries or gestures any group of wild asses that showed themselves along our route. Once, indeed, he succeeded in getting hold of a young wild ass, which, through fatigue, had loitered behind the rest. The young shy creature was led along by a rope, and was the occasion of really droll scenes, when its lucky captor gave a prize of three spoonfuls of sheepstail fat to any one who dared to mount it. Three spoonfuls of mutton-fat is a tempting prize for Hadjis in the desert, so that many were seduced by the prospect of gaining it. Nevertheless they could make nothing of this uncivilized brother of Balaam's charger, for the unfortunate Hadjis had no sooner seated themselves on its back than they were stretched sprawling in the sand.

Only after a march of several hours is general weariness to be remarked. All eyes are then turned towards the *Kervan bashi*, whose gaze at such a time wanders in every direction to spy out a suitable halting-place, that is to say, one which will afford most plentiful fodder for the camels. No sooner has he found such, than he himself hastens towards it, while the younger members of the caravan disperse themselves to right and left to collect dry roots, or scrub, or other fuel. Dismounting, unpacking, and settling down is the work of a few moments. The hope of much-desired rest restores the exhausted strength. With speed the ropes are slackened, with speed the heaviest bales of merchandize are piled up in little heaps, in whose shade the wearied traveller is accustomed to stretch himself. Scarcely have the hungry camels betaken themselves to their pasture-ground, when a solemn stillness fills the caravan. This stillness is, I may say, a sort of intoxication, for every one revels in the enjoyment of rest and refreshment.

The picture of a newly-encamped caravan in the summer months, and on the steppes of Central Asia, is a truly interesting one. While the camels, in the distance but still in sight, graze greedily, or crush the juicy thistles, the travellers, even the poorest among them, sit with their tea-cups in their hands, and eagerly sip the costly beverage. It is nothing more than a greenish warm water, innocent of sugar, and often decidedly turbid; still human art has discovered no food, has invented no nectar, which is so grateful, so refreshing in the desert as this unpretending drink. I have still a vivid recollection of its wonder-working effects. As I sipped the first drops, a soft fire filled my veins, a fire which enlivened without intoxicating. The later draughts affected both heart and head; the eye became peculiarly bright and began to gleam. In such moments I felt an indescribable rapture and sense of comfort. My companions sank in sleep; I could keep myself awake and dream with open eyes.

After the tea had restored their strength, the caravan becomes gradually busier and noisier. They eat in groups or circles which are here called *koosz*, which represent the several houses of the wandering town. Everywhere there is something to be done, and everywhere it is the younger men who are doing it, while their elders are smoking. Here they are baking bread. A Hadji in rags is actively kneading the black dough with dirty hands. He has been so engaged for half an hour, and still his hands are not clean, for *one* mass of dough cannot absorb the accumulations of several days. There they are cooking. In order to know what is being cooked, it is not necessary to look round. The smell of mutton-fat, but especially the aroma, somewhat too piquant, of camel or horse cutlets, tells its own tale. Nor have the dishes when cooked anything inviting to the eye. But in the desert a man does not disturb himself about such trifles. An enormous appetite covers a multitude of faults, and hunger is notoriously the best of sauces.

Nor are amusements wanting in the caravan-camp when the halt is somewhat prolonged. The most popular recreation is shooting at a mark, in which the prize is always a certain quantity of powder and shot. This sort of diversion was very seldom possible in our caravan, as on account of our small numbers we were in continual danger, and had therefore to make ourselves heard as little as possible. My comrades were accustomed to pass their leisure time in reading the Koran, in performance of other religious exercise, in sleeping, or in attending to their toilette. I say "toilette," but it is to be hoped that no one will here understand the word to imply a boudoir, delicate perfumes, or artistical aids. The Turkomans are accustomed to pluck out the hair of the beard with small pincers. As to the toilette of the Hadjis, and, indeed, my own, it is so simple and so prosaic as to be scarcely worth alluding to. The necessary requisites were sand, fire, and ants. The manner of application I leave as a riddle for the reader to solve.

So much for the life of the caravan by day. By night the desert is more romantic, but at the same time more dangerous. As the power of sight is now limited, the circle of safety is contracted to the most immediate neighborhood; and both during the march and in the encampment every one tries to keep as close as possible to his fellows. By day the caravan consisted of but one long chain; by night this is broken up into six or eight smaller ones, which, marching close together, form a compact square, of which the outmost lines are occupied by the stoutest and boldest. By moonlight the shadow of the camels as they stalk along produce a curious and impressive effect. During the dark starless night everything is full of horror, and to go one step distant from the side of the caravan is equivalent to leaving the home-circle to plunge into a desolate solitude. In the halt by day each one occupies whichever place may please him best. At night, on the contrary, a compact camp is formed under the direction of the *Kervan bashi*. The bales of goods are heaped up in the middle; around them lie the men; while without, as a wall of defence, the camels are laid, tightly packed, in a circle. I say laid, for these wonderful animals squat down at the word of command, remain the whole night motionless in their place, and, like children, do not get up the next morning until they are told to do so. They are placed with their heads pointing outward and their tails inward, for they perceive the presence of an enemy from far, and give the alarm by a dull rattle in the throat, so that even in their hours of repose they do duty as sentinels. Those who sleep within the *rayon* find themselves in immediate contact with these beasts, and, as is well known, they have not the pleasantest smell. It often happens that the saline fodder and water which these animals feed upon produce palpable consequences for such as sleep in their immediate neighborhood. I myself often woke up with such frescoes. But no one takes any notice of such things, for who could be angry with these animals who, although ugly in appearance, are so patient, so temperate, so good-tempered, and so useful?

CARLYLE'S ADDRESS.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

The installation of Mr. Carlyle as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University is an event very different from commonplace celebrations and ceremonies of that kind. The offices of Rector and Chancellor in the British Universities are for the most part, honorary, and are filled by men of political and the like celebrity. Carlyle's predecessor at Edinburgh was Mr. Gladstone; Mr. Disraeli was his competitor; while Oxford has the Earl of Derby for Chancellor, and the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Prince Albert have all in their time held similar positions. Edinburgh breaks the custom, and honors herself by paying her highest honor to one who is indeed her most distinguished son, but whose distinction proceeds in no respect from politics or war. There is something that touches both the heart and the imagination in the return of Carlyle, as the representative of English Literature, to the University which he entered, a boy of fourteen, fifty-six years ago. The occasion, memorable in itself, is made still more impressive by the address which he delivered upon his installation.

It happens to many a man to be best known by the worst things he has said and done. We fear that by a great number of American readers Carlyle is remembered for his dislike to us and our government. The needless affront of the "Ilias in Nuce" alienated a good deal of regard which had survived the abstract and theoretical statements, frequent in Carlyle's writings, in opposition to the Democratic principle. All the indignation we felt was just; yet we can well afford to forget it all. The incalculable service which Carlyle for thirty years past has done us is not to be outweighed by disgust at his failure to understand the merits of our struggle for nationality and liberty. We should pay a poor compliment to the intelligence and fair-mindedness of our readers if we did not suppose that they will heartily rejoice at the honor which Edinburgh accords to Literature in her choice of Carlyle as its foremost name. Nor do we believe it possible to read his address without profoundly feeling its genuine tone, its hearty sympathy with the young men who listened to it, its wisdom, its tenderness, its sound views on education, its brilliant excursions into many fields well tilled by its author heretofore, and by him only, its wit and humor, its practical common sense, and fitness to the occasion. We remember to have heard Mr. Emerson, just after the first volume of Carlyle's Frederick was published, describe it in a lecture as "infinitely the wittiest book that ever was written." Readers of Frederick know that the enconium was well deserved, and we are inclined to transfer it to this speech. Into this talk of an hour and a half, the wise and eloquent old man has crowded the experience and the learning of a studious lifetime, yet speaks to the young men about him as if he were nearer to them than to the grave, and with a sympathy and kindly interest in their future which goes to the heart.

What is the function of a University? What is the secret of a right education? Those are the questions which he undertakes to answer. The topics treated are such as the faculty and professors of every college have to consider practically. What books ought to be studied—what ought a University to try to do with the young men who come to it for instruction? It is one of the values of a great man that he is able to discourse profitably on such commonplace topics. In such a man there is no straining after originality when he has to deal with matters where not originality but experience is the thing wanted. Carlyle is content to recommend to students to be diligent; to do the task set them thoroughly; to learn how to read and study. He believes the function of a University to be something quite different from instructing those who flock to it in special departments of study—to be good lawyers, or theologians, or savans. "I consider" says he, "the very highest interests of man vitally intrusted to them. . . . What the Universities have mainly done—what I have found the University did for me—was that it taught me to read in various languages and various sciences, so that I could go into the books that treated of these things, and pry into anything I wanted to make myself master of, gradually, as I found it suit me." The business of a University is to discipline the minds of those who study in it—by no means to furnish those minds with special and technical knowledge; a statement wherein lies the confutation of those who insist that not classics but science, or not science but classics, for its own sake, should be taught, and taught exclusively. What a man knows when he leaves college is of small consequence. *How* he knows it is the question, and whether his mind has been so trained that he then can turn readily to whatever business life presents to him; can master whatever subject it becomes necessary for him to master; can, in a word, deal on equal terms with the facts and necessities that confront him on his entrance into the world. It need not surprise anybody, therefore, that this most modern of the moderns insists on the study of Greek and Roman history, and of Greek and Roman literature—those two races being the most remarkable, and those two literatures being the most perfect yet known among men, and exercising upon all subsequent peoples the greatest influence.

—We take it for granted that this address will be read by everybody who cares either for the matters with which it deals, or for him who deals with them. We are willing to presume that everybody will find in it something with which he disagrees, something which he heartily thinks wrong or mistaken. No matter for that. Here is, after all allowances are made, the most loyal, and most sincere, and the deepest of England's thinkers—he who has most influenced in this generation the thought of those who speak the English tongue—contributing his maturest wisdom for the benefit of the students of his *Alma Mater*. It is worth listening to, and will teach something to the best of us.

Anecdote of President Lincoln.—A German paper publishes an anecdote of President Lincoln which has not been in print in this country. A lieutenant, whom debts compelled to leave his fatherland and service, succeeded in being admitted to the late President Lincoln, and, by reason of his commendable and winning deportment and intelligent appearance, was promised a lieutenant's commission in a cavalry regiment. He was so enraptured with his success that he deemed it a duty to inform the President that he belonged to one of the oldest noble houses in Germany. "Oh, never mind that," said Mr. Lincoln, "you will not find that to be an obstacle to your advancement."

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DIABETES,

Stone in the bladder, Calculus, Gravel, Brick Dust Deposit, and Mucous or Milky Discharges after urinating, Irritation of the Neck of the Bladder, Inflammation of the Kidneys, Catarrh of the Bladder, Strangury and Burning, or Painful Urinating.

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That disease known as Falling of the Womb, which is the result of a relaxation of the ligaments of that organ, and is known by a sense of heaviness and dragging pains in the back and sides and at times accompanied by sharp, lancinating or shooting pains through the parts, will, in all cases, be removed by the medicine.

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